Collected articles of LA Schwarzschild on Indo-Aryan 1953-1979

compiled by Royce Wiles



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L.A. SCHWARZSCHILD

ON

INDO-ARYAN

1049-1070

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'Notes on the future system in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'The possessive adjectives of late Prakrit'; 'Notes on the declension of feminine nouns in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'Some aspects of the history of modern Hindi nahîn "no", "not"; 'Notes on some words meaning "immediately" in Middle Indo-Aryan; 'A study of some features of the imperative in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1953, 1954, 1956, 1959, 1961, 1965 Royal Asiatic Society, Reprinted by permission. 'Notes on the history of the infinitive in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'Prakrit thakka, 'tired" © 1955, 1958 Linguistic Society of India. Reprinted by permission. 'Quelques adverbes pronominaux du moyen indien III'; 'Quelques adverbes pronominaux du moyen indien: II les adverbes de temps'; 'Ghummira, gholira, "agité, branlant'" © 1956, 1957, 1962 Société Asiatique, Reprinted by permission, 'Some forms of the absolutive in Middle Indo-Aryan'; 'Notes on some Middle Indo-Aryan words in -II-.'; 'Some Indo-Aryan words meaning 'all"; "First,' 'second' and 'third' in Middle Indo-Aryan'; The Middle Indo-Aryan prefix vo-'off' and some phonological problems associated with it'; 'Some 'unusual' sound-changes in Prākrit'; 'Initial retroflex consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan' @ 1956, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1965, 1972, 1973 American Oriental Society. Reprinted by permission. 'Gleanings from the Vasudevahindi'; 'Notes on two postpositions of late Middle Indo-Aryan: tanaya and resi, resammi'; 'The indeclinable je in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1958, 1959, 1961 Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Reprinted by permission. Some sporadic changes of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1964 Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague, The Netherlands. Reprinted by permission of Kluwer Academic Publishers, 'Remarques sur quelques conjonctions du moyen indo-aryen' @ 1968 De Boccard Édition-Diffusion. Reprinted by permission. 'Some interrogative particles in Prākrit' © 1968 Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Reprinted by permission, 'Variant forms of the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1977 Bhagavān Mahāvīra 2500th Nirvāna Mahotsava Samiti. 'Distinction and confusion: a study of neuter plural endings in Middle Indo-Aryan' © 1979 School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Reprinted by permission.

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Pref

On the occasion of Dr Luise Hercus's retirement in 1991 from the Readership in Sanskrit which she has held since 1973 in the Faculty of Asian Studies of the Australian National University, some of her colleagues, friends and former pupils have decided to reprint in book form the collection of 26 articles in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan studies which she published under the name of L.A. Schwarzschild between 1953 and 1979.

Many of these articles will be well-known to scholars working in the field, but some of those published in commemorative volumes are less well-known and are not easy to come by. The majority deal with broad concepts, such as the future system, or the history of the infinitive in Middle Indo-Aryan, but even those which seem to be studies of individual words turn out, on examiniation, to be investigations of the fundamental principles upon which the words are based. Published together in this way these articles make clear the great value of the contribution which Dr Hercus has made to Middle Indo-Aryan studies. Their usefulness is increased by a Grammatical index and Indexes of Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan words, compiled by Colin Mayrhofer and Royce Wiles respectively.

K.R. Norman Cambridge

A listing of all the publications of L.A. Schwerzschild/L.A. Hercus in 1990 including the won Australian Aboriginal languages (public) of under the name L.A. Hercus) is found in Languages and history: assays in honour of Luise A. Hercus ofited by Peter Austria et al. Canberra: T. Australian National University, 1990. (Pacific linguistics. Series C. 116), pages 13–20, lac

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The credit for the idea to collect and reprint these articles with indexes belongs to Professor J.W. de Jong, without his interest and encouragement this compilation would not have been produced. Colin Mayrhofer generously agreed to compile the Grammatical index (pages 191-198) and so reduced the amount of work I needed to do.

The Faculty of Asian Studies of the Australian National University provided computer facilities for the indexing and also agreed to finance the publication of this volume as a tribute to Dr L.A. Hercus and the contribution she has made both to Indo-Aryan studies and the University. Without this help and the permission of the copyright holders this volume would not have been possible. Any faults remaining in the work are of course mine.

Royce Wiles Canberra

PUBLICATIONS BY L.A. SCHWARZSCHILD¹ ON MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

Compiled by Elizabeth Kat

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- Review of Jayakanta Mishra, A history of Maithili literature, vol. 1, Allahabad, 1949. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1951:121-122.
- 1953 1 Notes on the future system in Middle Indo-Aryan. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1953:42-52.
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Notes on the Future System in Middle Indo-Aryan

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

THE formation of the future tense is often mentioned in discussions on the classification of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. An -s- type of future occurs in Gujarati, Lahnda, and Jaipuri, an -h- type of future exists side by side with participial formations in Marwari, Hindi (Braj), and Bundeli, and in Bhojpuri and Awadhi (in the third persons only), as well as in Kashmiri, where it has assumed the meaning of a past conditional. Despite this Marwari 1 belongs to the -s- group, forms with -h- being found in those dialects of Marwari that regularly have voiceless -h- < -s-. The explanation of the Kashmiri forms is similar ($\pm s$) and $\pm sy$ - $\pm s$ Kashmiri). Thus -s- forms in principle are found over a large part of the North-West and West of India. Attempts have been made to trace back the modern conditions to earlier stages, and S. Sen 2 claims that the two types of future go back to different Indo-European originals: "From early times there were dialectal forms with the base-affix -ha-, which became quite dominant in Apabhramśa." (This is incorrect.) "The origin seems to have been the I.E. stem affix *-so-, OIA. -sa-, occurring in the desiderative, the agrist, and as a root-determinative." The accepted 3 opinion is that the two types of future have the same origin, the OIA. future suffix -i-sua-. and that differentiation did not take place till the Middle Indo-Aryan period. As has been shown conclusively by Turner⁴ and by Bloch,⁵ the future suffix of Sanskrit could have in MIA. a special development into -h- instead of -ss- which is phonetically regular, because it was in a weak position, being a terminational element.

The change of -ss- to -h- seems to have started in verbs whose stem ended in a diphthong or long vowel, as is proved by the Pillar edicts of Asoka, which have dāhaṇti, hohaṇti (Delhi Topra, Edict VII), while the Dhauli edict further has the second person plural ehatha.

¹ I am indebted for help to Professor Burrow and Professor Turner, and to Dr. W. S. Allen for information on Rajasthani.

² S. Sen. "A comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan," *Indian Linguistics*, vol. xii, 1951, p. 110.

³ H. Smith, in J.A., ccxl, pp. 169 ff., however, goes back to pre-Vedic, differentiating between a proto-Prakrit *-s-i-ti and the ordinary Indo-Aryan -syati.

⁴ R. L. Turner. "The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan," *JRAS.*, 1927. "The future stem in Asoka," *BSOS.*, vi, 1930-32.

⁵ J. Bloch, Les Inscriptions d'Asoka (collection E. Senart), Paris, 1950.

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There are no examples in the other Rock Inscriptions, which might be an indication that the change was specifically eastern. This is confirmed by later evidence.

The change of -ss- to -h- took place via the intermediate stage -s- which is attested in the oldest parts of the Jaina canon in verbs whose roots end in a long vowel. The prose of the Āyārangasutta has dāsāmi and dāsāmo (Āyār., II, 5, 11-13, repeated II, 6, 8-9), side by side with dāhāmo, and the Sūyagaḍangasutta has a third plural esamti (Sūy., I, 11, 29) as well as ehimti and essamti.

Apart from these few intermediate forms the language of both the prose and verse sections of the Jaina canon is very similar to the Pali of the Gathas as regards the distribution of the future endings. The affix -h- is thus scarcely found in the first persons except in verbs ending in a long vowel. A first person plural bhanihāmo occurs in the Bhagavatīsūtra VII and vandihāmi and namamsihāmi in chapter xviii, which is probably one of the later sections of this heterogeneous text; vaţihāmi (or jaţtihāmi according to some MSS.) occurs in the Nirayavaliyao IX, which is also late, and there are other sporadic examples in very late canonical texts such as the metrical Prakīrņas. In the second and third persons, however, the forms in -h- and -ss- alternate freely, e.g. the MSS. of the Vivagasuya have paccāyāhii alternating with paccāyāissai in the same passage (I, 31). The -h- endings are favoured at first only in verbs that end in a vowel; they become more and more frequent in consonantal stems in the later part of the canon, and they are practically the rule in the second and third persons in the metrical Prakīrņas, the Anuyogadvārasūtra, and other late texts.

The reason for the difference of treatment of the first person is probably this: the change of -ss- to -h-, being peculiar to the weak terminational elements, takes place most easily in the most frequently used forms, which are those of the third person singular. The -ss-futures persist for some time in the third person plural, but much longer in the first persons. This greater conservatism of the first person is by no means isolated, as is shown by later developments. It is also usual for the third person singular to show the two main effects of frequency of use; on the one hand rapidity of phonetic evolution, on the other resistance to morphological analogy. The particular frequency of the third person of the future is connected

with the fact that the first person especially can express both will and futurity, the third and perhaps to a lesser extent the second may express only futurity without the more personal nuance of will or obligation, so first -itavya, third -isyati. This explains the future of modern Awadhi and Bhojpuri, where the participial forms have replaced the old -h- future only in the first and second persons. A parallel case is provided by the use of secondary endings in the future (found in the prose of the Śvetāmbara canon, and particularly frequent in Jaina Śaurasenī). Gray has discussed the way in which the terminations of the injunctive and the aorist influence the future tense, and has been unable to trace any such influence in the third person singular.

Classical Māhārāṣṭrī has a composite future tense. The MSS. of Hāla ² agree in using -ss- in the first persons (one exception: kāham, variants kāhimi, karihimi, verse 187), and -h- in the other persons (again only one exception: samāgamissai, second Telinga version, verse 962). As pointed out by Nitti-Dolci ³ there is a close agreement between Hāla and the grammarian Vararuci. Vararuci allows both -ss- and -h- in the first person, but insists on -h- everywhere else, except for Śaurasenī, where -ss- is permitted throughout (Var., VII, 13). Hemacandra and Kramadīśvara follow him, with the result that later texts also standardize the usage. The Grammarians thus fix what is only a transitory stage, and the change of -ss- to -h- may therefore be said to belong to Māhārāṣṭrī as much as to Jaina Prakrit.

Jaina Śaurasenī,⁴ the language of the Digambara Canon, on the whole forms the future with the affix -ss-, exclusively so in the major works of Kundakunda, the Dhavalā (cf. Hiralal Jain's edition of the Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama, Λmraoti, 1940), the Gommaṭasāra, and the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, while in the less dogmatic works there are examples of the -h- future.

The -ss- type of future is found in the Saurasenī passages of the Sanskrit dramas, and the views of the grammarians concur with this evidence. The inscriptions ⁵ cannot afford much help in localizing the Prakrit conditions still further, as the examples of the future

¹ The $d\bar{a}sai$ of the Uttarādhyayanasūtra, XVIII, 20, of Charpentier's edition is a mistake for $d\bar{i}sai$, present indicative passive of $\sqrt{dr}\hat{s}$.

¹ L. H. Gray, "Observations on Middle Indian Morphology," BSOS., viii (1935-37).

² Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla, A. Weber, Leipzig, 1881.

³ L. Nitti-Dolci, Les grammairiens prakrits, Paris, 1938.

⁴ Denecke, Mitteilungen über Digambara Texte, Festgabe H. Jacobi, Bonn, 1926.

⁵ Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, Poona, 1948.

tense occurring in them are very few indeed, but the exclusive use of -s- and -sy- forms in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan proves that the development of -ss- to -h- did not feature in North-Western Prakrit. It seems clear therefore that in the first few centuries A.D. the -h- future was characteristic of Jaina Prakrit and Māhārāṣṭrī, while the sibilant belongs to the more western dialects, particularly Śaurasenī.

At this stage a further development takes place: -ss- weakens to -s- in the popular language of those districts where the sibilant was still preserved in the future tense. The reduction of double consonants occurred generally at a much later date and is one of the distinguishing features between Apabhramśa and the modern vernaculars. The simplification is therefore again a peculiarity of the weak terminational element. It is reflected in Apabhramśa texts and in such Prakrit works as are influenced by popular speech; it occurs in the Vajjālaggam¹ of Jayavallabha, which has hosai = bhaviṣyati.

The main bulk of Apabhramáa literature is written in two dialects, Digambara and Švetāmbara Apabhramáa, the latter being the language of the Švetāmbara Jains of Gujarat. There are a number of differences between the two dialects, such as the endings of the genitive singular of nouns, and the ending of the third person plural of verbs (-ahī in Švet. Ap., -anti in Dig. Ap.), and many others, listed by Alsdorf ² and Modi. ³ None of these differences are absolute and there is a great deal of interchange of forms. The future originally has the affix -s- in both dialects.

What is probably the earliest Digambara work, the Paramātmaprakāśa of Joindu ⁴ (sixth century?) has only an -s- future (but third pl. sijjhihim in Joindu's Yogasāra), and the same applies to the parts of the eighth century Paumacariu of Caturmukha and Tribhuvana Svayambhu ⁵ that have been published so far. In the later texts -h- forms are sometimes found. As -h- was slow to appear in the first person even in the neighbouring -h- languages which influenced Apabhraṃśa, it is not surprising that it is very rare in that person in Digambara works. There is only hohimmi (var. hohammi) Mahāpurāṇa, VII, 18, and kīlihīmi and picchihīmi in the Jasaharacariu.² In the third person singular resistance to the influence of the -h- forms was great. There is one example of havihī in the Harivamśapurāna of Puspadanta as opposed to twenty-one forms in -esai, and the distribution is about the same in the other texts. Though the Nāgakumāracariu still has only -esahi, most of the texts already prefer the -h- affix of the future in the second person. In the third person plural the -h- forms have practically become the rule. Only the Karakandacariu of Kanakamara,4 which is later than Puspadanta, whom it mentions, and which is more influenced by Gurjara Apabhramsa (as is shown by the preference for the ending -ahī in the 3rd pl.) has the forms cadesahim and karesahim. One can therefore conclude that Digambara Apabhramsa is basically an -s-dialect, which has undergone the influence of -h- forms particularly in the third person plural.

The language of the Švetāmbara Jains became the literary medium of a vast region and was brought into contact with many spoken dialects and with the literary influence of Jaina Prakrit. The -h-forms of the future are therefore found as well as -s- in most of the texts. The Sanatkumāracariu of Haribhadra (1159) already has karihai, marihai, citthihisi, etc., and there is an even greater mixture in the Kumārapālacarita of Hemacandra, the Kumārapālapratibodha of Somaprabha (1195) and Abdul Rahman's Sandeśarāsaka (twelfth century). Hemacandra in his grammar allows both forms (Hc., IV, 388 c). The confusion is still the same in the very late Prabandhacintāmaṇi which has bujjhahi side by side with such forms as avisii and jānīsii.

Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa is thus only a very imperfect representation of the popular speech of the extreme west, which as is proved by the earliest texts in the vernacular did not have an -h- future (Old Gujarati, Old Rajasthani).⁵ The confused state of western

¹ J. Laber, Über das Vajjālaggam des Jayavallabha, Leipzig, 1919.

² L. Alsdorf, Apabhramśa Studien, Hamburg, 1937.

³ M. C. Modi, Apabhramáapāthāvalī, Ahmadabad, 1935. M. C. Modi and Bhayani, Introduction to the Paumasirīcariu by Dhāhila, edited in Singhi Jain Series, 1943.

⁴ Upadhye, Joindudeva's Paramátmaprakāśa and Yogasāra, Bombay, 1937.

⁶ M. C. Modi, Caturmukha Svayambhu ane Tribhuvana Svayambhu. Bhāratīya Vidyā I, pt. 3, Bombay, August, 1940.

¹ Vaidya, Mahāpurāna, Bombay, 1937.

² Vaidya, Jasaharacariu, Karanja, 1933.

³ Alsdorf, Harivamśapurāna, Hamburg, 1936.

⁴ Hiralal Jain, Karakandacariu, Karanja, 1934.

⁵ Dr. Allen suggests a more cautious interpretation of the Old Rajasthani forms, on account of the soundchange -s- > -h- (voiceless) in some dialects of Marwari, the speakers of which write -s- not -h-. But since this voiceless -h- is based, as he points out, on earlier -s- and not on -h-, this interpretation would still prove the point for the popular language of the west in the Apabhramśa period and show the secondary nature of the modern conditions in Rajasthani.

Apabhramśa cannot therefore be taken as a direct indication of modern conditions as has been suggested recently by Tagare.¹

THE CONNECTING VOWEL

It is almost certain that the simplification of -ss- to -s-, both in its passage to -h- and later in Apabhramśa brought about a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, which was shortened again on account of its weak position.

As shown by Turner, the Aśokan examples of the Delhi Topra Edict cannot be adduced as evidence of the transitory lengthened form. Neither does it appear in the standard works of the Jaina canon, being only found in the less regular texts. Thus the Maranasamādhiprakīrņa repeats marīhāmi (1st sg., verse 240 onwards), and the Mahānisīhasutta contains vimuccīsam (1st sg.) and bhavihinti (3rd pl.). Non-canonical literature continues this tendency, and again the first persons seem to be the most conservative. The Paumacariya of Vimalasūri,2 which is probably as early as the first century A.D. has *cumbīhāmi* (1st sg., 10, 12), *qamīhī* (3rd sg., 14, 13), karīhāmi (1st sg., 26, 67), etc., as well the more doubtful havīhunti (3rd pl., 118, 63). The Vasudevahindi 3 of the sixth century has bhanjiham, qhattīhām (Bhavnagar edition, I, 51, 22), pucchīhāmo (I, 89, 19), jīvīhāmo (I, 91, 8), etc., and the Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra 4 of the eighth century has bhavīhāmo, bhanīhāmo and vaccīhāmo. By the time of the last work Jain Māhārāstrī must have ceased to be a spoken medium, but the absence of such forms from a more polished work of Haribhadra, the Samarāiccakahā, shows that the lengthened vowel was still felt as a vulgarism. It was a popular feature that survived into Apabhramsa and is found in the Vikramorvaśī: pekkhīhimi, jānīhisi, karīhisi. Later the vowel was definitely shortened and even appears as an -a- in some dialects (e.g. Chattisgarhi dekhahī).

The normal Digambara Apabhraṃśa future is in -esai. Forms in short -is- are extremely rare, there is only bollisu (1st sg.) in the late text, the Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara (VII, 11, 18).

The explanation of these usual forms in -esami, esasi, etc., is

not obvious. Jacobi 1 thought that the -ē- simply represented lengthening: "So ist das Futurum auf -esai durch Ersatzdehnung aus-isyati enstanden." Though the short vowels -i- and -e- are easily confused, there are only isolated examples of this happening with the long vowels, which were obviously more distinctive, and where there was no graphic difficulty. The spelling with -e- is so consistent in the future that it must be due to analogy. What springs to mind is the influence of the causative forms in -e- from -ayawhich were so frequent in Prakrit. This is the explanation given by Tessitori² and by Pischel³: "Apabhramśa rusesu vom -e- Stamme zu rus (Hc., IV, 414, 4) wie J.M. mannehi (Āv., 12, 12) vom e-Stamme zu man." The prakritic type of conjugation in -e- ceases to be usual in Apabhramsa, where the ordinary thematic -a- has replaced it completely in conjugation, and one only finds remnants of it in passages under prakritic influence. It seems therefore unlikely that a type of conjugation which was already moribund should influence the ordinary future ending. (A parallel case is that of the gerund, where -i-tvī has given -evi, which alternates with shortened forms -ivi, -eppi, but not -īvi). It is probable that the futures with the connecting vowel -e- were under the influence of those important root verbs in which the -e- was etymological: esai, nesai, desai, lesai. This development, which has become general in Digambara Apabhramśa is only sporadic in Gurjara Apabhramśa and in the Old Western Rajasthani texts, the Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, etc. It has given rise to the forms of modern Lahnda, which have -e- throughout except in the 1st pl. (Lahnda: maresã, maresã, maresī, marsāhã, mareso, maresiu).

In Švetāmbara Apabhraṃśa the usual connecting vowel is -i-, though $-\bar{\imath}$ - is sometimes found. The Bhāvanāsandhi-prakaraṇaṃ of Jayadevamuni, for instance, has only -isu in the first person, and -isai, -isii in the third, the Sanatkumāracariu has $kar\bar{\imath}su$, etc. (1st sg.), -isai in the third, while Hemacandra quotes verses containing the first singulars $p\bar{a}v\bar{\imath}su$ and $kar\bar{\imath}su$. This is continued in the early stages of the modern vernaculars; the Vasanta Vilāsa Phāgu has a first sg. $p\bar{a}m\bar{\imath}su$, $v\bar{a}misu$, lahesu, desu, which is the usual mixture

¹ Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa, Poona, 1948.

² H. Jacobi, Paumacariya, Bhavnagar, 1914.

⁸ L. Alsdorf, "The Vasudevahindi, a specimen of archaic Jain Māhārāshtrī," BSOS., viii, 1935-37.

⁴ Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra, ed. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series, Bombay.

¹ Jacobi, Bhavisattakahā, Introduction, p. 28, Munich, 1918.

² Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, § 527, Strassburg, 1900.

^{*} Tessitori, Notes on the grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani, I.A., 1914-16.
* M. Modi, "The Bhāvanāsandhiprakaraņam of Jayadevamuni," ABORI.
xi, 1929.

of forms found in the earliest texts from Gujarat, such as, for instance, also the Bharateśvara-Bāhubalīrāsa. The slightly later texts examined by Tessitori have -īsa (1st sg.), -īsai (3rd sg.), -īsaī (3rd pl.), all this despite the danger of confusion with the -ī- (< -īya, beside -ijj- < -iyya) of the passive. The long -ī- has remained in modern Gujarati in the first person singular, while elsewhere the shortened forms in -i- prevailed, generally weakened further to -a-. Examples of this are already found in the Old Western Rajasthani texts, and are frequent in works such as the Nāsaketa-rī Kathā (O. W. Marwari), which has a first person karasuṃ, second lābhasī, third sīṣasī, and the Suvābahuttarīkathā (probably Eastern Rajasthani), which has a first sg. karīsa and karasu, second and third karasī.

The connecting vowel of the future tense thus shows again that the final repartition of forms, however far back its origin, belongs to the period of the modern vernaculars.

THE VOWEL OF THE ENDING

It is found in the Jaina canon, as in Pali, that forms with the future affix -h- change the vowel of the ending to -i-, while those that preserve the -ss- also preserve the vowel -a-, so that on the one hand Sanskrit -isyati 4 gives -ihii, on the other -issai. Apart from the first person and a few isolated forms such as the Pali kāhati, there are practically no exceptions to this rule. In fact in the Jaina canon the -h- affix is so much associated with the yowel -i- that it influences the conjugation of the present indicative of verbs whose roots happen to end in -h, so that one finds repeatedly analogical formations such as sahinti, lahinti, etc. (Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ, 10th Anga).

The fact that in the first persons only the stages -ssa- and later -ha- (not yet -hi-) are found in the Jaina canon shows that the change must have taken place via -issadi > -isadi > -ihai > -ihii > -ihi. It probably began in the third person when -ss- was reduced to -h-, across which assimilation to the connecting vowel could take place easily, and it was further helped by the presence of final -i. A future ending -hi- can therefore be said to be characteristic of the East Central region of India, where Jaina Prakrit was formed, and it

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is precisely in part of this region that one finds a continuation of the -hi- type of future in the modern vernaculars: Bhojpuri and Chattisgarhi ($dekh\bar{\iota}$, $dekh^ah\bar{\iota}$).

Wherever Digambara Apabhraṃśa adopted future forms from a neighbouring dialect, that is particularly in the third plural, they were based on the -hi- type. One finds in the works of Puspadanta not only a third pl. karihinti, jāṇihinti, etc., but also kīlihīmi, piechihīmi (Jasaharacariu); khajjihisi, padihīsi (analogical long -ī-comes from the third person): karihī, hohī, etc. Futures in -ha- are extremely rare and confined to a few obvious western borrowings, especially in the Karakaṇḍacariu. It was therefore a dialect of the East Central region which influenced Digambara Apabhraṃśa.

Slightly further towards the west the -ha type of future prevails. It seems to have been characteristic of the most central dialect, Māhārāṣṭrī, and to have spread from there. Hāla (particularly MS. R) preserves a number of cases of -ha- despite the influence of the grammarians: harihai, dajjhihasi, ehai, etc. The Līlāvaīkahā,¹ which claims to have been written in pure Māhārāṣṭrī (about A.D. 800) contains jāṇihasi, disihasi, pāvihasi, side by side with lahihisi, etc.

The Jaina Śaurasenī of the less dogmatic of the Digambara texts seems to have adopted the -ha- ending quite freely. The Bhagavatī Ārādhanā, for instance, has pāvihasi (v. 1668), hohadi (v. 338), hohanti (v. 1099); Vaṭṭeraka's Mūlācāra has muccihasi (II, 90), kāhadi (II, 3, 32), etc. There is often even a metathesis of the -a-; sijjhahidi (Bhag. Ārādh., v. 748), muccahidi (v. 1619), etc., and these "wrong" forms are too numerous to be dismissed as ordinary mistakes. The borrowed nature of the -h- futures in Jaina Śaurasenī, from Jaina Prakrit on the one hand (the Mūlācāra has been said to adapt a large section of the Āurapaccakkhāṇa-Paiṇṇa with only minor linguistic alterations), and from Māhārāṣṭrī on the other, might explain the hesitation between the -hi- and -ha- future and the uncertainty as to where to put the -a-.

As distinct from Digambara Apabhramáa, the language of the Svetāmbaras of Gujarat was influenced by the spoken language of the centre, and one finds -ihasi, -ihai, etc., almost invariably in those cases where the -h- future has been introduced. The preference for the vowel -a- in the ending proves that this was not a mere prakritism,

¹ Pischel, Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhramsa, Berlin, 1902.

² C. Krause, Nāsaketarī Kathā, an old Rajasthani tale, Leipzig, 1925.

J. Hertel, Über das Suvābahuttarī Kathā, Festschrift E. Windisch, Leipzig, 1914.
 Cf. H. Smith's article (loc. cit.) for a different explanation. He postulates

separate pre-Vedic origins for the -a- and -i- forms.

 $^{^1}$ A. N. Upadhye, Līlāva
ī. A romantic Kāvya in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit of Kouhala, Singhi Jain Series, 1949.

as is so often thought, since then one would have expected the Jaina Prakrit ending -ihii.

The influence of the Midland continued in the early period of the modern vernaculars and the -ha- type of future spread further and further from the region of Western Hindi to which it belongs. Thus in the sixteenth century Awadhi ¹ of Malik Muhammad Jāyasī and of Tulsī Dās, ² the -hi- forms still prevail in the third persons, while elsewhere the -ha- future is found (Tulsī Dās: 1st sg. -ihau, 2nd -ihasi, 3rd karihi, pujihi, etc., 2nd pl. -ihahu, 3rd pl. karihī, karihahī). In modern Awadhi (3rd sg. marihai, 3rd pl. marihaī) the Hindi (Braj) forms have replaced the older type of conjugation.

Futures in -ha- occur even in the texts of the extreme east: a second pl. future imperative basiau (probably < *basihahu < *vasiṣyatha) is found in the Dohās of Saraha,³ a work admittedly under western influence; the few forms with -ha- in the Old Bengali Caryās and the third persons in -ihe, -ihai, in the early Middle Bengali of the Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana of Caṇḍīdāsa⁴ have the same explanation. The -ha- future is a western importation in the Maithili "Avahaṭṭha" of Vidyāpati Ṭhākura,⁵ where there is a distinct Braj influence. In purer types of Old Maithili one only finds participial futures (e.g. the Pārijātaharaṇa of Umāpati Upādhyāya,⁶ perhaps earlier than Vidyāpati). These imported future forms, absent from the modern Maithili and Bengali languages, show the extraordinary vitality of the language of the centre in the early phases of the modern vernaculars.

There was also a variant development of the ending -isyati, in which assimilation took place across the sibilant: -issidi, which is frequent in the Saurasenī portions of such dramas as were preserved in southern MSS. The change seems to have been confined to the third person. Examples already occur in the South Indian Inscriptions of Asoka: vadhis(s)iti is common to the minor Rock Edicts of

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Rupnath, Brahmagiri, and Siddapura. The only northern manuscript in which such forms occur is the Saurasenī section of Aśvaghosa's dramas: pavajissiti and the contracted gami(s)si. Although forms so obviously belong to the extreme south, the grammarians regard them as Sauraseni, perhaps on account of the presence of -ss-. Pischel's 2 theory that Jaina Saurasenī is meant by this has been disproved by the texts, where there is no sign of such futures apart from the one curious double form bhavissihidi (Bhag. Ārādh., v. 1488). It is difficult to establish the later history of this ending, because the most southern language, Marathi, has not preserved the sigmatic future (although Tulpule 3 and others claim to have found traces of it in Old Marathi), and because the tendency to assimilate the -a- to the surrounding vowels continues, so that the forms in -isii, which one finds so often in the Old Western Rajasthani texts (and even in isolated cases in Svetāmbara Apabhramsa) are more likely to be based on the normal Svetāmbara future in -isai than on the southern forms reflected in the Asokan inscriptions.

One can therefore conclude on the evidence of the modern vernaculars and of the older texts that there coexisted in Middle Indo-Aryan five main future endings, although they are not all attested at the same period:—

This distribution was obscured by intricate interborrowing of forms and the influence of the language of the centre.

¹ L. Dhar, Padumāvatī. A linguistic study of the sixteenth-century Awadhi (Hindi), London, 1948.

² B. Saksena, "The verb in the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās," Allahabad Univ. Studies, 1926.

³ N. Chaudhuri, Studies in the Apabhraméa texts of the Dākārnava, Calcutta, 1940. Shahidullah, Les chants mystiques de Kānha et de Saraha.

⁴ Chatterji, Origin and development of the Bengali language, Calcutta, 1926.

⁵ Haldar, "Vidyāpati the Maithili poet and his language," J. Dep. Lett., Calc., 1930. Saksena, "The language of the Kīrtilatā," Indian Linguistics, v.

⁶ Grierson, "The Pārijāta Harana of Umāpati Upadhyāya" (J. Bihar and Orissa Oriental Research Society, 1917).

^{(1) -}thii, thi East Centre (attested in Jaina Prakrit).

^{(2) -}ihai Centre (in Māhārāstrī).

^{(3) -}ēsai West Centre (brought into contact with 1) in Berar, Digambara Apabhramśa).

^{(4) -} isai West (Śvetāmbara Apabhramśa).

^{(5) -}isii Extreme South (Southern Saurasenī manuscripts).

¹ Lüders, Bruchstücke indischer Dramen, Berlin, 1911.

² Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, p. 363.

³ S. G. Tulpule, Yādarakālīna Marāthī Bhāṣā, Bombay, 1942.

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

I

Possessive adjectives are not strictly essential parts of speech; their place can often be taken by the genitive of the personal pronouns. This has led to a certain lack of continuity in their development, which has, however, often been exaggerated. Apart from very isolated survivals like $ma\bar{\imath}a$, the Sanskrit possessives had already died out in Prakrit. The Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars have entirely new formations, the most widespread of which is that in -r. In the singular one can distinguish three main groups of possessive adjectives in r-:—

(1) Western Hindi, as characteristic of the first group has $m\bar{e}r\bar{o}$, $t\bar{e}r\bar{o}$ for the possessive. (Oblique forms of the pronoun are $m\bar{o}$,

muj, mohi, muhi, and tō, tuj, tohi, tuhi.)

(2) Gujarati and most of the Rajasthani dialects except Mewati belong to a second group whose main characteristic is the vowel $-\bar{a}$: Gujarati $m\bar{a}r\bar{o}$, $t\bar{a}r\bar{o}$ (oblique base ma, ta).

(3) Eastern Hindi and the Magadhan languages on the whole have -o- as the vowel of the possessive, thus Avadhi $m\bar{o}r$, $t\bar{o}r$ (oblique

 $m\bar{o}, t\bar{o}).$

The absence of any similarity with the oblique in group I shows that the possessive adjectives are not simply based on the modern oblique forms of the personal pronouns, but are older. The modern possessive adjectives and their distribution are in fact already fore-shadowed by the Apabhramśa texts. The standard forms of Western Apabhramśa as given by Hemacandra ¹ are:—

1st person: mahāra pl. amhāra

2nd person: tuhāra

These forms as well as a second person plural tumhāra recur in the other Western Apabhramśa texts, generally with the addition of svārthe-ka; e.g. Kumārapālapratibodha mahārau, Sandeśarāsaka amhāriya, etc. Possessives are rare in this dialect.²

Although there are no possessive adjectives of this kind in the earlier Digambara texts, the works of Joindu, and the few fragments of the Paumacaria of Svayambhu that have been published so far, there is a large number of forms of the possessive in the

¹ Hemacandra, iv, 434.

later Digambara Apabhramśa texts. The plural is amhāraya, tumhāraya as in Western Apabhramsa. In the singular on the whole the forms of the type meraya, merī; teraya, terī outnumber those of Western Apabhramśa, which are also current. This applies to the major works of Puspadanta, but in the later Karakandacariu of Kanakāmara the distribution is equal. In the Bhavisattakahā, as pointed out by Alsdorf, meraya occurs only once, while there are examples of tuhāraya, tuhārī. This distinction between Digambara and Western Apabhramśa shows that there has been a continuity of evolution, that forms of group I never belonged to Western Apabhramśa and the languages derived from it, while Digambara Apabhramśa represents a mixture or groups I and II.

The origin of the Apabhramáa forms is not clear. The theory of Bopp and Lassen that the types I and II are a continuation of the Sanskrit madīya has been completely discarded since the days of Beames.² The main theories since Lassen are the following:—

Sen³ derives the Apabhramśa forms from maha and tuha (mabh(y)a), tubh(y)a) with the affix -ra or $-\bar{a}ra$, cf. OIA. -ra (la), $-\bar{a}la$, madhura, bahula, $śr<math>\bar{u}ra$, etc.

Dave 4 derives the sixteenth century Gujarati forms $m\bar{a}harau$ and $t\bar{a}harau$ from $m\bar{a}+harau$ and $t\bar{a}+harau$.—harau itself he refers back to Sanskrit ghara which was also to have given the post-positions hrau, hraim, rahaim.

Beames ² states that "there is no difficulty in connecting these adjectives with the older genitive of the noun formed with the affixes kera and kara... Popular Prakrit has such forms as mahakero, from which $mer\bar{a}$ would naturally flow, and the rustic form of the same, namely $m\bar{a}ro$, would be equally derived from mahakaro.

Pischel ⁵ explains the forms $mah\bar{a}ra$, $mah\bar{a}ra\ddot{u}$ as based on the genitive sg. $maha + *k\bar{a}ra$, developed from $k\bar{a}rya$ without epenthesis. In his discussion ¹ with Hoernle he makes it clear that he considers $mer\bar{a}$, etc., derived from maha + kera.

² R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, p. 308. Strassburg, 1900.

¹ L. Alsdorf, Harivamsapurāna, p. 166. Hamburg, 1936.

² J. Beames, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India. London, 1876, pt. ii, p. 311.

³ S. Sen, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan Indian Linguistics, vol. xii, § 47.

⁴ T. N. Dave, A Study of the Gujarati Language in the Sixteenth Century. London, 1935, p. 59.

⁵ R. Pischel, IA. 1873, p. 121.

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This theory is supported by Chatterji ¹ and Tessitori ² among others, though the latter thinks that *meraii* and *moraii*, occurring in the Old Western Rajasthani texts "bear an analogy to the Braj and Bundeli oblique forms *me* and *mo*".

Tagare 3 derives $mah\bar{a}ra$ from $maha + *k\bar{a}ra$, mera from *ma + kera, $tuh\bar{a}ra$ from $tuha + *k\bar{a}ra$; tera from tva > *ta + kera.

Of these explanations, that of Sen is improbable on account of the rarity of the suffix -ra, $-\bar{a}ra$, a variant of the frequent $-\bar{a}la$ of Apabhramśa, OIA. -āla cf. rasāla, ravāla in the Nāvakumāracariu. Forms of the possessives in -l- never appear in Apabhramsa or even in Eastern texts like the Caryagitis, although this is the more usual variant of the adjectival suffix. Dave's theory seems to account very well for the sixteenth century Gujarati forms, which might have been analysed as $m\tilde{a} + harau$ subconsciously by the speakers of this period, when the original formation of the possessives had fallen into oblivion. The theory leaves the Apabhramsa mahārau, etc., quite unaccounted for, and assumes them to be unrelated, as they cannot be based on $m\bar{a} + harau$ because of the vowel lengths and because harau did not exist as a postposition in Apabhramsa. Further, the series of postpositions that Dave quotes as cognate is not with certainty related to ghara. (For a different, but also unconvincing explanation of rahaim, etc. cf. Tessitori).

There remain the explanations which allow for some continuity in the evolution of the possessives and which involve the addition of a derivative of kr to the personal pronoun. Pischel and Tagare agree in postulating two forms $*k\bar{a}ra$ and kera, both from $k\bar{a}rya$. As is well known, -kera is frequently used to indicate possession, and is often found with nouns and even more with pronouns in both Prakrit and Apabhramśa. In the case of pronouns it is almost invariably the genitive that is used before kera, with nouns it is sometimes the stem. (This renders Tagare's ma-kera, etc., improbable.) Thus Hāla has maha-kera (v, 17); Saurasenī mamakera, tassakera, amhakera, etc., are found in the dramas from Bhāsa onwards. Kera is fully recognized by the grammarians. Hemacandra, ii, 47, writes "idamarthasya kerah" (cf. the list of examples

¹ S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language. Calcutta, 1926, p. 813.

² L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old W. Rajasthani," IA. 1914-16, para. 83.

³ Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa, Poona, 1948.

given by Pischel in his commentary), and the form continues in Apabhramśa, (cf. Paumacariya of Svayambhu II, 118), and then in the works of Puspadanta (cf. Hariyamśapurāna, glossary: kēraya), and it is used in the early stages of the modern vernaculars e.g. Old Guj. Bharateśvara-rāsaka 105: jai risahesara kera puta. It still occurs in the sixteenth century Awadhi of Tulsidas and Jayasī: Bandon padasaraj sab kere (Tulsīdās) and haum panditan kera pacchalagā (Jāyasī), etc., quoted by Ayodhyāsinh Upādhyaya.¹ kerau often also occurs in its unshortened form in the OWR. texts of Tessitori and it survives into modern Gujarati (cf. Grierson²), E. Hindi, and Bihari. The distribution of kera, -era as a genitival postposition seems to have no relationship with the distribution of the type $mer\bar{a}$, so that it is difficult to argue in favour of a proto-Hindi dialect which favoured epenthesis and where kera was generalized rather than the hypothetical kāra. Thus both OWR. and Bengali have the postpositional affix (ke)rau, but the possessive pronouns belong to groups II and III. A purely phonetic explanation would also make it difficult to account for the complete absence of *hamera and *tumhera in the plural. The development must therefore be to some extent analogical, and the analogy is most likely to have come from the genitive of the personal pronoun. A link with the personal pronouns can be seen at various stages in the development of the possessive adjectives, for instance in the Eastern forms mor and tor, and in occasional rarer forms such as mujjhāra (var. mujjhāre) found in the Prabandhacintāmaņi (p. 11, line 8).

In Māhārāṣṭrī the intervocalic consonants were lost early and the affix kera, when in composition with a pronoun, therefore lost its initial consonant. The fact that the possessive pronoun was often used in an unstressed position in the sentence led to further reduction, *mahaera > *mahera, and under the influence of me, te there were formed the possessives mera and tera. This influence of me must belong to the pre-Apabhraṃśa stage, as me and te, though widespread in all the Prakrits as unaccented forms and recognized by the grammarians, became more and more rare in Apabhraṃśa (only one example of me, for instance, in the whole of the Harivaṃśa purāna). The line of development of group I of possessive pronouns was therefore the following:—

² G. A. Grierson, Kuhn's Zeitschrift. 38, 1905, pp. 913 ff.

¹ Ayodyāsinh Upādhyaya, Hindi Bhāsā aur uske sāhitya kā vikās, pp. 83 ff.

 $mahakera(ka) > mahaera(a) > mahera(a) \neq me > meraa > mer\bar{a}.$ $tuhakera(ka) > tuhaera(a) > tuhera(a) \neq te > teraa > ter\bar{a}$.

The early contraction of the vowels ae in hiatus may be put down to the lack of accentuation of the word, while the loss of -ah- is due to the analogy of the pronoun.

In the plural there was no doubt a similar influence of the Prakrit form of the genitive plural amhānam, tumhānam, which was replaced by the Apabhramsa period by amhaha, tumhaha, and amha, tumha. ae would normally go to -e- as pointed out by Alsdorf: "Es ist auch unglaubhaft dass aus der Kontraktion von ae oder ai jemals etwas anderes entstehen sollte als -e-." Therefore an analogical influence is also responsible for the plural forms:-

 $amhakera(ka) > amhaera(a) \neq amh\bar{a}nam > amh\bar{a}r\bar{a}.$ $tumhakera(ka) > tumhera(a) \neq tumhãnam > tumhãrã.$

There was thus not a variation of postposition within the same dialect, but the analogy of the personal pronouns was responsible for the difference of development.

II

The postpositional affixes that are considered by Beames, Pischel, etc., to have brought about the formation of the W. Apabhramśa mahārau, *kāra and *kara are both unattested in Prakrit and Apabhramśa. Pischel thinks that the absence of kāra in the works of the grammarians who mention only kera(ka) is due to the fact that a word kāra existed already in Sanskrit and that there was therefore no need felt to explain the Prakrit $k\bar{a}ra < k\bar{a}rya$. But there is also no sign of kāra from kārya in the texts, karā only occurs as a suffix to form agent nouns, i.e. representing the Sanskrit $k\bar{a}ra$ and not $k\bar{a}rya$. This makes it likely that the adjectival $k\bar{a}ra$ of possessive meaning that Pischel postulates did not exist at all. It is scarcely justified phonetically; the regular development of kārya in Prakrit is kajja; as a learned form, kārya might possibly giev $k\bar{a}ra$, without epenthesis, just as $t\bar{u}rya > t\bar{u}ra$ and $gambh\bar{u}rya$ $> gambh\bar{\imath}ra$, a development which is unusual with the vowel \bar{a} . ācārya > ācera, etc., not *ācāra. Pischel insists that "Nobody can doubt that -āra of Bengali originally was kāra and that kāra and kera are only modifications of the same word, viz. kārya." But Chatterji has shown that the postposition responsible for the creation of the Bengali genitive and plural forms was kera originally.

¹ R. Pischel, op. cit.

and that kāra does not occur until very late. On account of this late occurrence and the fact that kāra is restricted to Bengali, Hoernle thought it was a double genitive formed very late from $k\bar{a} + ra$ (Gaudian Grammar, p. 236, footnote). Though this explanation is no doubt incorrect, it is quite probable that $k\bar{a}ra$ is only a late deformation of kara itself in Bengali. It is certainly almost impossible that such a late form, restricted as it is to Bengali and not even common to the other Magadhan languages, should have given rise to the whole of the possessive formation of Western Apabhramśa and the languages derived from it.

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The reason for the adoption of this hypothetical kāra by Pischel and others seems to have been a phonetic one: maha and tuha $+ k\bar{a}ra$ would easily give mahāra and tuhāra, whereas the form kara, given first of all by Beames, presents certain phonetic difficulties in view of the question of the ya-śruti. aka > aya seems to have had a double development according to whether the y resulting from the k was pronounced or not in late Prakrit, so that the group sometimes gives e and sometimes \bar{a} . There seems to have been a certain amount of hesitation and dialectal and chronological variation in the development of this group, which is further obscured by interborrowing and the tendency to substitute the suffix -era for what would have been the correct ending of the word. It may be possible to explain a certain number of the inconsistencies by such a substitution of suffix rather than phonologically. Thus it appears that in Apabhramsa in the case of some words, and in others in the early stages of the modern vernaculars the ending era was favoured. But it is not at all clear whether in those words akāra has been replaced by akara which has developed to era via ayara, or whether there has been a substitution of the suffix era < kera. Examples are for instance janera, janeri, which is found in Digambara, but not in Western Apabhramśa (it is used even adjectivally once in the Bhavisattakaha), kannera mentioned in Hc i, 168, while the Kumārapālacarita has kanniārā, Māhārāstrī Prakrit already has nalieri, cf. Hemacandra Deśīnāmamālā ii, 10. naliara nalikera; gamere-du occurs in the rather late Sadbhāsācandrikā of Lakṣmīdhara for gāmāra (grāmakāra). A particularly important example is the modern Hindi, Panjabi etc. andhera as opposed to Gujarati andhārum, which has been discussed by Helmer Smith 1

¹ Helmer Smith, BSL., 34, p. 116.

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and by Professor Turner.¹ There are even some examples in which the suffix era seems to have replaced an entirely different ending: e.g. Digambara Apabhraṃśa vivareraya (Bhavisattakahā, Harivaṃśapurāṇa, etc.) for viparīta. Although none of these cases are absolutely conclusive, they all seem to point towards a preference for the ending -era in Digambara Apabhraṃśa and not so much in the Western group of languages, where the postposition kera was not treated as a suffix so soon.

A derivation from kara of the Western Apabhramsa possessives can therefore not be excluded on phonetic grounds, as all the cases in which *akara gives era might equally well be substitution of suffix. kara is attested in the earlier stages of the modern vernaculars, being used side by side with kera to form possessive constructions; thus kara occurs in a really old Gujarati text like the Buddhirāsa, sixteenth century Awadhi has both kara and kera, e.g. Tulsī Dās kśatra jati kara rosa, etc., further East it appears already in the Kīrtilatā of Vidyāpati and is generally well attested. The origin of this kara has been suggested by Baburam Saksena 2 to be the elongated Prakrit form of the past participle of \sqrt{kr} , karita > kario; yet this seems unlikely as there is no sign of the -iin the oldest forms of this postposition that are found. It is therefore to be separated from the Rajasthani instrumental karī. It is much more likely to be a weakened form of kera itself, so that one might assume the following line of development for the Western Aphabramśa mahārau:-

maha + kera(ka) > maha + karaka > maha(a)rau > mahārau, and an exactly parallel development takes place in the second person. It seems therefore that in the West the k was not always slurred quite so early and the vowel was weakened first when this postposition was used enclitically, with the result that it disappears completely in OWR $-ra\ddot{u} < (a)ra\ddot{u} < kara\ddot{u} < keraka$, which has survived into Modern Marwari. It cannot be decided on the evidence of the forms available whether the long a was caused by the influence of the vowel of the plural forms:

amha + kera, amha + kara > amha (a) $ra \ddagger amh\bar{a}nam > amh\bar{a}ra$ or whether it was brought about by the slight remnant of a vowel that may have remained in the enclitic kara before it was reduced

completely to rau. The evidence of the nouns—the short vowel of the masculine nouns before the postposition, e.g. Nasaketa-rī Kathā proves nothing as the possessives were compounded at a much earlier date when the vowel -a- before -raü might still have been sounded. A possessive with a long vowel which might also have a similar explanation is the isolated tujihānau which occurs in the early Apabhramsa of the Kuvalayamālā.1 According to Master this is based on the genitive tujiha with the addition of the postposition nau, cf. Old Gujarati nau, which occurs in the texts studied by Tessitori. The use of medial cerebral n in the Apabhramsa form, however, renders doubtful that identification with nau (cognate with $na\tilde{i} < kanha\tilde{i} < *karnasmin$). It is much more probable that it should be the same as the OWR. postposition tanau, which occur already in conjunction with a pronoun in the oldest Apabhramsa text, the Paramatmaprakasa of Joindu: mahit tanai = madīyena (ii, 186). In the case of tujihānau the long vowel is probably also caused by there being a slight remnant of the vowel of the first syllable of the affix tanau.

III

The Eastern forms are of a complex nature. The late Apabhramśa Prākṛta Pingala, which is generally thought to have an easterly provenance has hammāra (hamāra) and tohara = yusmākam, with metrical shortening, according to Pischel. The Dohās do not contain any possessives except that of the third person, tahara, neither does the Dākārņava, as in both these works the simple genitive is used to mark possession and the distinctly Eastern genitive to < tava appears, side by side with more Western forms like mahu. In the Caryāgītis, however, there are a number of possessives of a distinctly Bengali type mohora, mora, tohora, tohara, tohari, tohori and tora. These forms almost certainly represent different stages of development, of which tohara is the oldest, based on the Western tuhāra, under the influence of to. (Chatterji thinks it is from tava + kara, mora from mama + kara, but the presence of the h in these early forms makes this unlikely.) From tohara, etc., the type tohora, mohora is derived by assimilation of the vowels. [The ending -hor(a) has been extended from there in some districts; cf. Nepali. Mora and tora are derived from these by a simple contraction. This Eastern type of possessive in o, itself based on Western influence,

R. L. Turner, Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931, under adhyaro.
 Both these explanations are strictly phonological, unlike what is suggested above.
 B. Saksena, "The language of the Kirtilata," IL., iv, 1933.

¹ A. Master, "Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā-kahā," BSOS., xiii, 2.1950.

had a considerable extension in the early period of the modern vernaculars. There are sporadic examples of morau, etc., in the OWR. texts and in later works such as the Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, where these forms alternate with the also presumably imported Hindi type mero and the Western mhārau; the Bisaldev Rāso, which is claimed to be the earliest Braj text, but is in fact written in a Rajasthani dialect 1 (as is proved by many other linguistic features, such as the presence of -s-futures), contains the o form i, 78, side by side with the ordinary Rajasthani tharo, etc. As usual the greatest power of extension in the early period is that of the Hindi forms, which have also penetrated into works in Rajasthani (OWR. texts, Dholā Mārūrā Dūhā, and modern Mewati). In the sixteenth century Awadhi of Jāyasī, the Hindi forms are still competing with the Braj mora and tora. The Eastern type of possessive is based, as shown, on a Western mahāra, tuhāra, which is found in Western Apabhramsa and to some extent in Digambara Apabhramsa, and it has been altered by the analogy of the genitive. The 3rd person possessive adjective which occurs in the Dohākosas, tāhara, is to be explained on a similar basis, as it is influenced by the genitive $t\tilde{a} < taha$. This development is exactly parallel to what is found at a slightly later stage in Gujarati, where mahārau, etc., become māharau, and the change of length is due to the influence of the oblique $m\bar{a}$.

It would appear therefore that the modern possessive adjectives in -r- are not based on a variety of postpositions, but all derive from the Middle Indo-Aryan *kera*; and the modern differences of form are due to the influence of the genitive of the personal pronouns which took place earliest in the Hindi type of possessive.

The possessive adjectives as given by the Grammarians of Apabhramśa raise among other questions that of the use of the plural for the singular. This occurs already in one of the examples given by Hemacandra and it is categorically stated by the earliest of the "Eastern" grammarians that tumbhāra and ambhāra correspond to tvadīya and madīya (Pu. v, 30). This is not simply a mistake arising from the use of the plural of respect; there is a phonetic reason for the use of amha, etc., in the singular. As pointed out by Pischel in his grammar long ago, and substantiated by the examples found by Alsdorf in the Vasudevahindi (there are further examples in the

Dhirendra Varma, La langue Braj., Paris, 1935.

more popular Prakrit texts in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. the Dhūrtā-khyāna), the verb to be, asmi sometimes tended to replace the personal pronoun, with the result that the form of the first person looked very much like a plural: asmi = I am > amhi, amhe < *asme = we. A confusion arises in the second person also where the abl. sg. *tusmat gave tumham and the nom. pl. was tumhe. This leads to the use of forms like tumha, tumbha in the genitive which are found in Rāmatarkavagīśa (the chapter on pronouns in Puruṣottamadeva himself has lacunae). So the possessives ambhāra and tumbhāra have their explanation clearly in that old confusion, which was not generalized in Apabhraṃśa, as it was not conducive to the clarity of a literary language. It must have lingered in the popular speech of the Apabhraṃśa period, and some of the modern uses of the plural for the singular may have their roots in this early confusion.

The forms given by some of the later Eastern grammarians no longer reflect Apabhramśa at all, but are versions of the possessives used in the vernaculars. Rāmatarkavagīśa has meram, teram, and moharam and toharam, clearly the early vernacular Eastern forms, and in one of his stanzas (v. 7) he has the curious example meraḍu, the ḍu being an affix (cf. Grierson, IA. 51). As often the case the evidence of the grammarians is again not in accordance with the texts; meraḍu is not found in any of the Apa. texts hitherto published.

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The major work on this subject, as on so many other problems of Indian philology, has been done by Professor S. K. Chatterji in his monumental "Origin and Development of the Bengali Language". This article is an attempt to elucidate some minor details.

As pointed out by A. Meillet, no precise general definition of any part of speech is possible, and the infinitive is particularly varied. It is closely allied to the nouns of action on the one hand, and to the gerund or absolutive on the other, and in some ways also to the past and future participles. The history of the infinitive is therefore complicated by constant intermingling and borrowing from these allied parts of speech. The gerund and infinitive in particular are often interchangeable. The basic distinction between the infinitive and the noun of action is generally held to be two-fold: (1) syntactically the noun of action has a nominal, the infinitive a verbal function; (2) morphologically the noun of action is a normal noun with a full declension while the infinitive is more closely linked with the verbal system and does not decline. The development of these parts of speech on the whole is according to the following pattern:—

A

C < noun of action

absolutive < infinitive B

< past participle and participle of obligation.

The changes are normally in this direction, but in times of transition when there is hesitation between the usages, the reverse is also found.

In Vedic the distinction between the verbal noun and the infinitive is particularly slight,² and the infinitive is an old case of the verbal noun ending in -am, -tum, -e, -ase, -taye, -tave, -tavai, -dhyai, -mane, -vane, -as, -tos, etc. In classical Sanskrit as is well known only the old accusative infinitive in -tum has survived.

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In the Prakrits the forms are again more varied. The most usual ending of the infinitive in Ardha-Māgadhī is -ttae. There has been some argument as to the origin of this form. A. Weber³ derives it from the Vedic absolutives in -tvāya, E. MÜLLER⁴ from the Vedic infinitives in -tave, and he is followed in this by G. V. Tagare.⁵ R. Pischel⁵ suggests that it was derived from the Vedic infinitives in -tavai, which are doubly accented and might therefore have a curious consonantal development. S. Sen³ agrees partially with Weber and suggests Vedic *-tvāyai.

The infinitive in -ttae cannot be separated from that in -yae which is formed by some verbs ending in a long $-\bar{a}$ in Ardha-Māgadhī. The endings -ttae and -yae seem to have been kept clearly distinct from the absolutives in $-\bar{a}ya$, $-\bar{a}e$, and this in itself is sufficient to discredit the theory of Weber. Thus Ardha-Māgadhī has the absolutives samāyāe, sankhāe, samutṭhāe (Āyāraṅgasutta); and $\bar{a}y\bar{a}e$ still occurs in the popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the Vasudevahiṇḍi. The infinitive however always has a short -a- in the ending and we find for instance in the Nāyadhammakahāo 28:na kappai..bhottae $v\bar{a}$ $p\bar{a}yae$ $v\bar{a}$ = "it is not meet to eat or drink." The dative of the noun of action in -ana was kept apart in a similar way³; the infinitive has a short -a-while the dative of the noun of action ends in $-\bar{a}e$, as in the frequent formula: $pah\bar{a}rettha$ $gaman\bar{a}e$ (e.g. Bhagavatīsūtra XV 43) = "he set out to go". The brevity of the vowel in Ardha-Māgadhī proves that the infinitive in -ttae is a fixed survival and is to be separated in derivation from the normal dative of nouns and the absolutive.

An infinitive in -tave exists in Pali and in the Aśokan inscriptions where it is widespread except in the North-West, e.g. Girnār chamitave, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa khamitave etc. It seems most probable that the theory of E. MÜLLER is correct and that the infinitives in -tave of Ardha-Māgadhī are the direct continuation of the Vedic infinitive in -tave. There is no real need

- 3. A. Weber, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati, Berlin 1866-7.
- 4. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrt, Berlin 1876, p. 61.
- 5. G. V. TAGARE, Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa, Poona 1948, paragraph 150.
- 6. R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strassburg 1900, paragraph, 578.
- 7. S. Sen, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Indian Linguistics, Vol. XII, 1951, p. 126.
- 8. This is only contradicted by the N. W. Aśokan inscriptions where we find an infinitive in -ae which a short -a—e.g., kṣamanaye (Shāhbāzgarhī inscription XIII). This type of infinitive was continued later in Niya Prakrit. It represents the shortened form of the dative of the noun of action (change A), but the original length of the vowel is proved by the endings in -āya found in Pali and in the Dhauli and Jaugada Aśokan inscriptions, which have asvāsanāye. The Girnār inscription has niṣṭānāya. The shortening of the vowel of this dative infinitive ending is therefore only characteristic of the NW in this early period.

^{1.} A. Meillet, "Sur la Terminologie de la Morphologie Générale", Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale, Paris 1938, p. 29.

^{2.} T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language, London 1954, p. 364.

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to postulate with Pischel a derivation from -tavai, which has little support, particularly as Professor Edgerton9 has recently explained the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit infinitive in -tavai not as a derivative of Vedic -tavai, but as a hypersanskritism for -tave. The doubling of the -t- can however scarcely be due to a simple phonetic evolution; it is probably due to the influence of the absolutive where -tv- > -tt- in Ardha-Māgadhī: -tvā, -tvānam > -ttā, -ttānam. This doubling of -t- is exactly parallel to what is found in -ttu, -ttu (a development from -tum, cf. Pischel, op. cit. paragraph 576), which was used as an absolutive in Ardha-Māgadhī (change C). The tendency for doubling the -t- was further increased by the development of some consonantal roots where the doubling was phonetic, e.g. *bhoktave > bhottae. The loss of the -v- in the derivation of -ttae from -tave presents no real difficulty. An intervocalic -v- is quite often dropped in Ardha-Māgadhī e.g. jīva > jīa, āsrava > aņhaya, pravrtta > payatta etc. The weakness of the pronunciation of -v- intervocalic is further attested by the confusion between -k-, -g- > -y- and -v- intervocalic in a number of words in the Jain canon, ¹⁰ and this feature is continued later by Jain Māhārāstrī and Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. in the Līlavaīkahā, and by Apabhramśa. The loss of the -v- is thus not unusual and owing to the phonetic weakness of terminational elements11 it became the rule in the ending -tave of the infinitive in Ardha-Magadhī.

The Sanskrit infinitive in -tum > -um, -ium, is occasionally found in the Ardha-Magadhi of the canon, although it is by no means as frequent as the infinitive in -ttae. It seems to be favoured only in some fixed locutions as for instance with payatta. This is illustrated by examples taken from a few paragraphs of the Nāyadhammakahāo:

- 77. tam icchāmo..parivasium.
- 78. citteum payattā.
- 87. anupariyatteum payattā.
- 90. uvasaggeum payattā.
- 90. na jujjasi..ujjhium.
- 99. tam seyam. khanāvettae.
- 99. icchāmi. khanāvettae.
- 99. khanāveum payatte yāvi hotthā.
- 130. uttarium payatte..hotthā.
- 9. F. EDGERTON, Buddhist Hybrid Grammar, New Haven 1953, paragraph 36/14.
- 10. R. Pischel, op. cit., paragraph 231.
- 11. R. L. TURNER, The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Arvan. JRAS 1927.

In some cases where the infinitive in -tum is used in preference to that in -ttae it could very easily be replaced by an ordinary noun e.g. Nāvadhammakahāo 25: dalayanti pakāmam dāum pakāmam bhottum pakāmam paribhāeum, = "they give him as much as he likes to give away, to eat, to drink and to distribute." The only other case in which the infinitive in -tum is favoured is in composition, in fixed locutions inherited from Sanskrit, e.g. Nāyadhammakahāo 141: ghāukāma, pāukāma. Apart from these locutions the infinitive in -tum is not very much alive in Ardha-Māgadhī, even if one includes cases where it has taken on an absolutival meaning (change C). It becomes slightly more prominent in the later canonical texts and in Jain Māhārāstrī. Here the infinitive in -tum sometimes appears strengthened by the addition of the enclitic particle -je, hence the forms ginhium-je and ginheum-je etc. found in the Panhāvāgaranāim¹² and in popular texts like the Mahānisīhasutta¹³ and the Māhārāstrī Dhūrtākhvāna.¹⁴ Dr. Sen¹⁵ writes: "The accusative infinitive in -tum was at best a dialectal feature in M.I.A.". It belonged however to the Midland dialect, Māhārāstrī, and owing to the great literary importance of the Midland it spread and it has become the normal form of the infinitive in dramatic Māgadhī. It is also the usual form in Sauraseni, where it was almost certainly indigenous, and in Jain Sauraseni. It still occurs in Śvetāmbara Apabhramśa, where it is not only confined to passages under Prakrit influence. It is frequent in Sanatkumāracarita, generally with the loss of final -m, e.g. kahiu, tasiu, lihiu, etc., and the Kumārapālapratibodha¹⁶ has jampiu, hariu, laddhu and kahium-pi, which are the only infinitives in that text apart from one example of an absolutive used as an infinitive.

There is no evidence of the infinitive having survived any later in this form. Kramadīśvara allows an infinitive in -aüm, which is not mentioned by any other grammarian. The most usual form of the infinitive in Digambara Apabhramśa however is that in $-ah\tilde{u}$. It is the most frequent type of infinitive in the works of Puspadanta and in the Karakandacariu of Kanakamara. It occurs for the first time in the Paramātmaprakāśa of the Digambara Joindu possibly of the sixth century A.D. It has probably survived into modern Marathi, 17 in the infinitive in $-\tilde{u}$. The infinitive in $-ah\tilde{u}$ is very rare indeed in

^{12.} S. Sen, A critical introduction to the Panhavagaranaim, Würzburg, 1936, p. 13.

^{13.} W. Schubring, Das Mahānisīhasutta, Berlin 1918, p. 92.

^{14.} A. N. UPADHYE, Dhūrtākhyāna, Singhi Jain Series XIX, Bombay 1944, Intr., p. 53.

^{15.} S. Sen, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Indian Linguistics XII,

^{16.} L. Alsdorf, Der Kumārapālapratibodha, Hamburg 1928, Introduction, p. 64.

^{17.} J. Bloch, La formation de la Langue Marathe, Paris 1920.

Svetāmbara Apabhramsa and has left no remnant in modern Gujarati. The formation of the infinitive thus represents one of the major differences between Svetāmbara and Digambara Apabhramśa.

The origin of the ending $-ah\tilde{u}$ has not been clearly explained. At first sight it would seem likely that we have here a simple case of the so-called ha-śruti, the -h- being inserted before the old infinitive ending in -um. But Pischel¹⁸ warned already long ago: "-h- fällt weder aus, noch wird es zur Vermeidung des Hiatus eingeschoben," and he proves that all cases that had up till then been presumed to be examples of the use of the ha-śruti are really based on false etymologies. Such a categorical denial is now no longer possible. Old Western Rajasthani¹⁹ for instance occasionally shows insertion of -h- e.g., suhanaŭ < *suanaŭ < suvanaŭ < svapnakam, but in Apabhramśa such a proceeding is extremely rare, even in late texts. For the Sandeśarāsaka²⁰ of Abdul Rahman it has been shown by Dr. Bhayani that the loss of -h- is doubtful in all cases, and that its insertion is not found in that text. The only dialect in which one can find any clear examples of the ha-śruti is the "Eastern Apabhramśa" of the Dohakosas²¹ and even there all cases are not convincing. The reason for the introduction of the ending $-ah\tilde{u}$ must therefore be more than a mere matter of orthography.

The connecting vowel between the root and the ending is always a and not -i- or -e-, and this further helps to discredit the notion of a prakritic infinitive with the insertion of -h-; $ah\tilde{u}$ thus appears as a complete remodelling of the infinitive in Apabhramsa. The use of the connecting yowel -awhich occurs also in Kramadīśvara's -aiim, which may be an intermediate form, is explained by remodelling on the general system of the conjugation of the present in Apabhramsa. In Prakrit -e- is very often used as the connecting yowel, while Apabhramsa has only -a-. Thus the 3rd person sg. present indicative in Prakrit is harei, Apabhramśa harai; and therefore harium, hareum are replaced by *haraum in Apabhramsa, and the stage described by Kramadīśvara is reached. There is a similar tendency for the weaker yowel -a- to be introduced in other parts of the verbal system, as for instance in the absolutives where -avi often occurs instead of -evi, -ivi. The present indicative and the imperative also used a number of personal endings containing an -h-, thus Prakrit haremi, -esi -ei, -emo, -eha, -enti corresponds to Digam-

18. R. PISCHEL, op. cit., paragraph 266.

19. L. P. TESSITORI, Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani, I. A. 1914-16, paragraph 37.

20. JINA VIJAYA MUNI and H. BHAYANI, Sandeśarāsaka, Singhi Jain Series XXII. Bombay 1945, paragraph 34 of Introduction.

21. M. Shahidullah, Les chants mustiques de Kānha et de Saraha, Paris 1928.

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bara Apabhramśa haraü, -ahi, -ai, -ahū- ahu, -anti or ahi; but what mostly helped to bring about the introduction of the -h- into the infinitive was the influence of the oblique of action nouns, with which the infinitive was felt to be associated. In the genitive sg. -ha(m) had replaced the Prakrit -ssa. and there even occurs a rare ending -hum in the genitive in Apabhramsa. which is admitted as a correct ending by Rāmaśarmatarkavāgīśa. The -hfrom this source penetrated very early into the infinitive in Digambara Apabhramśa, and the intermediate form, without it, is not attested by the literary documents.

Although it is so frequent in Digambara Apabhramsa, the ending -ahū has survived only in Marathi, and not in Eastern Hindi as so many other features of Digambara Apabhramsa. In most of the eastern and western regions of northern India the obligatory participles have become the usual infinitives, according to change B. There are already examples in Prakrit²² where participles are used in the function of an infinitive e.g., Nayadhammakahāo 128: tam icchāmi iham anāyam = "I wish her to be brought here." In a similar way the obligatory participle could easily be drawn into the formation of an infinitive, particularly in Apabhramsa, where it had often lost its passive meaning. The use of the obligatory participle as infinitive falls into the very latest period of Apabhramsa. It is attested in Digambara Apabhramsa, but as a rare and late feature. The distribution of forms of the infinitive in the Apabhramśa period therefore only partially shows modern conditions. The obligatory participle as infinitive became usual in Guiarat and Rajasthan as well as the Eastern languages, but in Western Hindi the infinitive based on the noun of action in -ana was too well established to be replaced.

^{22.} For the use of the present participle as infinitive cf. the examples given by S. SEN, Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan, I. L. 1953, pts. 3 and 4, p. 118.

DI

MOYEN INDIEN

PAR

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

Dans plusieurs langues indo-européennes de l'époque moderne, les adverbes pronominaux tendent à sortir du système pronominal. C'est un exemple du «passage continuel du motivé à l'arbitraire» (Saussure). Il faut être philologue pour se rendre compte des liens historiques qui rattachent «ici» et «là» aux pronoms démonstratifs en français moderne. Les langues néo-aryennes de l'Inde cependant, bien qu'elles soient pour la plupart tout aussi avancées vers l'état analytique que le sont les langues romanes, ont pourtant conservé des systèmes pronominaux beaucoup plus complets. Ainsi en hindi moderne vahān, yahān, kahān, tahān, jahān, adverbes de lieu, vūn, yon, kyon, tyon, jyon, adverbes de manière, correspondent aux pronoms (cas oblique) us, is, kis, tis, jis. C'est là l'aboutissement d'une évolution millénaire : il v a eu toute une série de refontes et de changements analogiques en moyen indien, et l'on n'a jamais perdu l'idée d'un système complet tel qu'il se trouvait en sanskrit et en indoeuropéen. Le désordre qui nous frappe tant dans les textes du moyen indien, surtout en prākrit et en apabhramsa et moins en pāli, n'est qu'apparent; les nombreuses variantes qu'on y trouve représentent souvent l'ébauche de systèmes nouveaux. Les adverbes ont eu de

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l'influence les uns sur les autres; nul n'a évolué isolément, ce qui l'aurait conduit hors du système pronominal.

Le système du sanskrit, très complet, comporte pourtant quelques faiblesses qui ont été en partie responsables de l'évolution ultérieure :

	ADVERBES					
	LIEU	DIRECTION	MANIFRE	TEMPS		
Démonstratif	tatra	tatas	tathā	tadā, tarhi		
Relatif	yatra	yatas	yathā	yadā, yarti		
Interrogatif	kutra, kuha	kutas	kathām	kadā, karhi		
Démonstratif de	iha	itas	ittham, itthā idānīm			
sospico ana literali	atra	atas				
Démonstratif			evam	etarhi		

	ADJECTIFS			
risans de les ave	NOMBRE	QUANTITÉ	QUALITÉ	
	A la companie de	odajovy ove do	e involventia etti o	
Démonstratif	tati	tāvat	$t\bar{a}d\dot{r}\dot{s}(a)$	
RELATIF	yati	yāvat	yādṛś(a)	
Interrogatif	kati	kiyat	$k\bar{\imath}dr\dot{s}(a)$	
Démonstratif de proximité		iyat	idrs(a)	
Démonstratif		etāvat	etadys(a)	

ADVERBES DE LIEU.

Les adverbes de lieu sont intimement liés aux adverbes de direction, pour le sens aussi bien que pour la forme. On a donc créé dans la langue parlée *itra selon l'analogie d'itas (tatas : tatra, itas : *itra); et qui signifiait «ici » comme atra. Il n'y a pas de doute sur l'existence d'*itra qui a laissé nombre de dérivés en prākrit. On les trouve déjà dans les inscriptions du roi Aśoka : etra (Shāhbāzgarhī), eta (Girnār, Dhauli), heta (Khalsi, Dhauli, etc.).

Dans les inscriptions plus tardives, comme dans tous les dialectes du moyen indien (sauf le «sanskrit» des textes bouddhiques), il y a eu déplacement complet de la série tatra, etc., qui auraient dù donner tatta, etc., selon les lois phonétiques (1) (cf. Aśoka: tata à Girnār, Khalsi, etc.). Il y a donc deux problèmes à résoudre: A. L'origine du groupe -tth- dans les adverbes de lieu; B. L'origine de la voyelle e-au lieu d'i- dans les dérivés d'itra.

- A. On a tenté plusieurs explications de ce premier phénomène.
- I. R. Pischel (2) croit que tatra, kutra, etc., ont subi l'influence de l'adverbe védique itthā (cf. aussi J. Bloch, Langue marathe, p. 206).
- II. S. K. Chatterji (3) suggère que le verbe sthā- aurait pu exercer une certaine influence et que yat-stha, tat-stha seraient peut-être les formes primitives (proposition déjà avencée pour les dérivés modernes par Kellog, Grammar of the Hindi Language, \$638). Cette théorie est notée par J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen, p. 91.
- III. S. Goldschmidt (*Prakritica*, p. 22) et aussi W. Geiger (4) et S. Sen (5) croient que c'est un changement phonétique et que -tr- est devenu -tth- dans certains cas.
- I. L'explication de Pischel n'est pas très vraisemblable; il est difficile d'admettre qu'itthā, ittham, adverbe de manière en védique et en sanskrit soit devenu adverbe de lieu. On semble avoir distingué nette-

ment entre les deux catégories en moyen indien (1). Les adverbes de manière katham, tathā, yathā sont devenus régulièrement en prākrit kaham, taham, jaham. Itthā (ittham) fait exception. Celui-ci, par son développement phonétique régulier est devenu identique en prākrit aux adverbes de lieu itthā, etthā. La nécessité de séparer les adverbes de lieu des adverbes de manière a été sentie si bien en moyen indien qu'on a établi une distinction artificielle : ittham est employé comme adverbe de manière en prākrit, pendant qu'ettha, ittha est employé exclusivement comme adverbe de lieu.

II. L'explication de M. Chatterji présente une seule difficulté : les mots composés en -tha, < skr. -stha sont des adjectifs et des noms et non pas des adverbes ni des conjonctions.

III. L'explication phonétique de M. Geiger et de M. Goldschmidt se heurte à des difficultés sérieuses. Pischel (2) croit que les exemples donnés pour le développement phonétique tr-tth-reposent tous sur des « erreurs de fecture ». L'attitude générale envers de telles « erreurs » a bien changé depuis Pischel : on a constaté que les «erreurs» révèlent souvent des archaïsmes précieux, ou des irrégularités intéressantes. Tout de même, il faut admettre avec Pischel que les mots cités: metthi pour mātra > metta, matta (Mrcchakatikā), patthi = pacchi et non pas < pātrin chez Hāla, et d'autres, ne sont pas du tout probants. Cette critique s'applique aussi bien aux exemples cités plus tard par Geiger: pāli sotthiya < śrotriya = brāhmaņa, mot qui a certainement subi l'influence de pali, pkr. sotthi « svasti et de sotthiya « svastika (ce dernier mot est aussi le nom d'un personnage dans les légendes bouddhiques). Les autres cas cités par Geiger se laissent expliquer d'une façon toute semblable : ce sont des contaminations, ex.: pāli, pkr. krīdā > khīdā, sous l'influence de kśevelati (3), hindi moderne khelnā; pāli phoseti = arroser, vient de \spr\s = toucher, et

⁽¹⁾ Selon les règles phonétiques -tr- devrait donner toujours -tt- en pāli et dans les dialectes prākrits. Mais dans la langue plus moderne, en apabhramśa, il a pourtant quelques survivances de l'r sanskrit après consonne qui a été assimilée en prākrit. G'est probablement un trait régional de l'Ouest, et surtout du Nord-Ouest, qui n'a pas été accepté en prākrit et qui a survécu en apabhramśa. La forme tadru pour tatra qu'on trouve chez Kramadīśvara est tout de même une forme artificielle, semble-t-il.

⁽²⁾ R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strasbourg, 1900, \$ 293.
(3) S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Londres, 1926-

^{1928,} p. 858.

(4) W. Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache, Strasbourg, 1916, \$ 9.

(5) S. Sen, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Indian Linguistics, XI, p. 36, 1940.

⁽¹⁾ Un tel changement est pourtant possible dans d'autres étapes de l'indo-aryen. Ainsi le guzrati moderne a utilisé les adverbes de manière tiha, etc., de l'apabhramsa pour en faire des adverbes de lieu tiham, etc. (sous l'influence d'iha?), la place de tiha, etc., comme adverbes de manière étant prise par les dérivés d'evam.

⁽²⁾ R. PISCHEL, op. cit., 206.
(3) R. L. TURNER, Nepali Dictionary, Londres, 1934, p. 127.

non pas de $\sqrt{pru\acute{s}}$, cf. l'emploi dans les textes juridiques du verbe skr. $\sqrt{spr\acute{s}}$ au sens de «se laver» ($M\~{a}navadharma\'{s}\~{a}stra$, etc.), Quant à pkr. $ph\~{a}suya$, l'étymologie de ce mot a fait couler beaucoup d'encre, on a proposé $pr\~{a}\'{s}uka$, $pr\~{a}suka$, qui n'est autre chose que le mot pr $\~{a}$ krit sanskritisé, et l'étymologie la plus généralement reçue est $spar-\acute{s}uka$ (cf. $spar\'{s}a > ph\~{a}sa$) «ce qui est pur», «ce qu'on peut toucher». Il semble donc bien que toutes ces aspirées du moyen indien n'ont rien à faire avec une r primitive, elles sont toutes dues à des sibilantes sanskrites, et le changement tr > tth ne saurait guère représenter une évolution phonétique.

Il faut donc chercher une autre explication. L'adverbe prākrit et pāli hettha = adhas "au-dessous", dont l'étymologie est douteuse, pourrait peut-être nous aider à expliquer les adverbes de lieu. Pischel a démontré que hettha ne vient pas d'adhestha comme le croyait Johansson (1), mais d'adhestat pour adhastat (2), selon le simple ahe adhas. Il y a des cas analogues : puratthā < purastāt, qui est assez fréquent en ardha-māgadhī (Nāyadhammakahāo, Uttarajjhayanasutta, etc.). En sanskrit, il y a paratra « dans l'autre monde », et parastat « à l'ave nir, au loin ». Ce dernier a donné régulièrement paratha en ardhamāgadhī et dans les autres dialectes littéraires du moyen indien, et il a peu à peu assimilé paratra qui devait donner paratta. En sanskrit la désinence -tat était déjà en train de perdre sa signification primitive, qui était celle de l'ablatif; elle paraît souvent tout simplement comme locatif, parastāt signifie donc «au loin» et non pas seulement « de loin », il en est de même pour purastat, bahistat (védique). De là s'est peu à peu dégagé l'idée d'une désinence -s-tat > ttha pour les adverbes de lieu. Or l'évolution phonétique des adverbes de lieu dérivés de pronoms aurait occasionné de nombreuses rencontres homonymiques : atra > atta (forme très rare qui ne se trouve que chez Asoka et dans des textes assez artificiels à une époque plus tardive et dans le composé attabhava dont les parties n'ont pas été reconnues; ce mot est fréquent dans la sauraseni des drames); mais il y a aussi en moyen indien des mots atta dérivés d'artta, atta et apta, et à l'Est c'est aussi

(2) R. PISCHEL, op. cit., \$ 107.

un dérivé d'ātman. Tatta < tatra était tout semblable à tatta < tattva et tapta; jattă vient de yatna et de yātrā; itta, etta auraient été semblables au verbe «aller», ittae, ettae, kutra devenait kutta, interrogatif, mais kutta signifiait aussi en prākrit «chien» (sanskrit kurkura?) et «contrat», mot deśī selon Hemacandra. On a donc favorisé la désinence -ttha < -s-tāt qui se trouvait déjà dans purattha, parattha; et attha, jattha, tattha, etc., ont pris la place des anciens adverbes de lieu en -tra dans la plus grande partie du Nord de l'Inde, comme le montrent les textes.

B. Le deuxième problème est celui de la voyelle -e- dans l'adverbe ettha < *itra, qui tendait à remplacer atra comme adverbe de proximité. On trouve dans les inscriptions du roi Asoka les adverbes cités plus haut, etra, heta et eta < *itra. Mais on ne trouve pas *itta qui représenterait l'évolution phonétique régulière d'*itra. Le changement de la vovelle i en e n'a rien d'extraordinaire; les grammairiens prakrits donnent une liste de mots qui ont e au lieu d'i dans tous les dialectes à l'exception de la saurasenī. C'est la liste pindādi qui paraît déjà chez Vararuci, I, 12, et des exemples (1) de ce changement comme Lecchai pour Licchari sont fréquents dans les textes canoniques des Jainas (e. g. Sūyagadangasutta, II, 1. 13). Mais dans les dérivés du pronom de proximité, ce changement est beaucoup plus général et se trouve dans tous les dialectes du moyen indien, y compris la saurasenī, où la règle pindādi ne s'appliquerait pas, selon les grammairiens et les textes. Ainsi ettha se trouve fréquemment dans la saurasenī des drames (e. g. Malavikāgnimitra, III, 91, éd. S. P. Pandit), tandis qu'ittha v est très rare. Mais ettha pour ittha n'est pas isolé parmi les dérivés de pronoms : on trouve aussi jaina māhārāstrī ettiya, māhārāstrī et jaina māhārāstrī ettia, saurasenī et māgadhī ettika, adjectifs de quantité; et plus tard ettila, ettula; aussi ettahe, ettahi, ettamha, etc. Le plus important de tous ces exemples est ettia, ettiya, adjectifs de quantité. Pischel (2) a cru que ce mot venait d'*ayatya (cf. kettiya < *kayattia). Mais comme semble l'indiquer M. Chatterji (3) cette étymo-

⁽¹⁾ Johannson, Indogermanische Forschungen, III, p. 418.

⁽¹⁾ R. PISCHEL, op. cit., 119.

⁽²⁾ R. PISCHEL, op. cit., 153. (3) S. K. CHATTERJI, loc. cit.

minaux.

Il v avait en prākrit des adverbes itto (avec la variante etto qui se trouve aussi en pāli), katto, tatto, etc., adverbes de direction dérivés du sanskrit itas, tatas, kutas. Selon les règles phonétiques, itas, etc., auraient dû devenir io. ao. kuo, kao, qu'on trouve en māhārāstrī et en apabhramsa. Mais katto, jatto. etc., qui représentent d'ordinaire cette série en prākrit ont été refaits sur les pronoms à l'aide du suffixe -tas, -to: kad + tas, yad + tas, anyad + tas > katto, jatto, annatto, d'où par analogie itto, savvatto. Etto paraît avoir été créé sur le même modèle sous l'influence de la nouvelle base pronominale etta-. Si l'on a donc favorisé ettha- au lieu d'ittha, adverbe de lieu, cela s'explique par la force du système :

En moyen indien (les formes citées sont celles de la māhārāṣṭrī jaina, mais elles appartiennent aussi aux autres dialectes du prākrit, avec quelques légères variantes):

	ADVE		
	LIEU	DIRECTION	ADJECTIF DE QUANTITÉ
	ine de <u>sem</u> brei	toward— lists	A emon-q. sh e
Démonstratif	tattha (tittha)	tatto (titio)	tattiya et tettiya
RELATIF	jattha (jittha)	jatto (jitto)	jattiya et jettiya
INTERROGATIF	kattha (kittha)	katto	kettiya
Démonstratif de proximité	ettha (ittha)	etto	ettiya

⁽¹⁾ Eta-comme pronom est fréquent chez Asoka, et il y a là aussi pour la première fois etra au lieu d'*itra.

Sous l'influence d'ettha, ittha et d'etto, itto, on a parfois changé la voyelle des adverbes de lieu et de direction dérivés des autres pronoms. On trouve donc parfois en prākrit titto, jitto et tittha, etc., bien que les formes étymologiques tattha, tatto, etc., soient beaucoup plus fréquentes. En apabhramsa l'analogie est plus complète, tattha, kattha, etc., sont devenus plus rares que tetthu, jetthu, ketthu, et ce sont probablement ces derniers qui ont donné ethan, jethan, tethan, kethan (var. ethain, etc.) en Bhojpurī (1), les formes correspondantes en vieux

marathe, le māgadhī jethavām, le bengali jethā, hethā, etc.

Il est difficile de trouver une différence quelconque entre les deux grands dialectes littéraires de l'apabhramsa, celui des Digambara et celui des Svetāmbara, quant aux adverbes de lieu. Les adverbes de lieu s'emploient souvent dans les deux dialectes comme adverbes de direction. Il y a aussi une nouvelle série d'adverbes de lieu, tettahe, ettahe, jettahe. C'est la série tarhi, yarhi, karhi, etarhi; prākrit tahe, jahe, kahe, ettahe, qui a donné ettahe, et de là tettahe (2), etc., en apabhramsa. Ettahe, d'abord adverbe de temps, est fréquent dans les textes prākrits (māhārāṣṭrī jaina) un peu populaires (3), comme adverbe de lieu, parfois avec une nuance temporelle. Quelquefois on a interprété la finale -he comme désinence casuelle, et l'on a substitué -ho à -he (désinence qui n'était fréquente qu'au féminin), et l'on a écrit donc kettaho, qui s'emploie comme adverbe de direction en apabhramsa : du reste on trouve déjà kattohimto, etc., en prākrit, c'est katto adverbe de direction, avec l'addition de la terminaison double -himto. Une autre variante à été créée en apabhramsa par l'influence de la série ettahe, etc., sur les autres adverbes de lieu et l'on a donc jetthahi (Bhavisayattakaha) et tetthaho (Harivamsapurāna). La série ettahe, etc., a laissé des dérivés en maithili, tatay (tate), jatay, katay, etay et otay, et en hindi occidental (braj) tita, jita, itai, ītai et uta. Les formes de la maithilī se rencontrent aussi en brajbuli. La répartition des adverbes de lieu est

(1) Pour une autre explication, cf. U. Tivari, Bhojpuri bhāsā aur sāhitya, Patna,

(3) E. g. Lilavaikahā, texte du viii° siècle, éd. Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1949.

⁽²⁾ Chatterji propose tatta < tatra + he comme étymologie de tettahe, etc., mais tatta, on l'a déjà remarqué, est extrêmement rare en prākrit, et les formes ta tu, etc., qu'on trouve parsois en apabhramsa, représentent plutôt tatto, etc., adverbes de direction (cf. tattu dans Hc., IV, 404).

Malgré les tendances archaïsantes des textes littéraires, on peut donc dégager quelques principes d'évolution chronologique en moyen indien:

- 1º Avant le temps d'Aśoka: *itra est créé sous l'influence d'itas;
- 2º Avant le temps d'Aśoka : tendance d'*itra à devenir etra sous l'influence d'etad > etta;
- 3° La voyelle i de l'éphémère *itra a pénétré dans le reste de la série, donc tittha, etc.;
- 4° Un peu plus tard : tra > tta a été remplacé par ttha < -s-tat dans les adverbes de lieu;
- 5° Tendances populaires des premiers siècles ap. J.-C. et qui se retrouvent en apabhramsa :
- a. la voyelle e d'ettha < *itra s'est introduite dans le reste de la série (tettha, etc.);
- b. confusion complète entre les adverbes de lieu et les adverbes de direction;
 - c. ettahe < etarhi devient adverbe de lieu;
 - 6° En apabhramsa, on a créé tettahe, etc., selon ettahe.

SOME FORMS OF THE ABSOLUTIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

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The Gerund, or so-called conjunctive or absolutive participle is frequently used in the Indo-Aryan languages in all their stages of development, but it is particularly frequent in Middle Indo-Aryan. The constant repetition of absolutives is well-known to be one of the main features of Jaina Prakrit syntax. From a survey of the forms used it would appear as if there had been a comparatively rapid turnover of forms in the literary languages, though perhaps more continuity in popular speech.

Vedic had a number of forms for this participle, $-tv\bar{\imath}$, $-tv\bar{a}$, $-tv\bar{a}ya$, as well as $-y\bar{a}$, $-ty\bar{a}$, and the grammarians further quote the otherwise unattested $-tv\bar{a}nam$ and $-tv\bar{\imath}nam$. These were reduced to two in Classical Sanskrit, $-tv\bar{a}$ for simple verbs, -ya for compound verbs, though the Vedic forms seem to have survived in popular speech. In Middle Indo-Aryan there is a vast variety of forms, of which the more important are:

-tv- forms: $-tt\bar{a}$, $-tt\bar{a}$, a(m), $-(t)\bar{u}$, a(m); possibly $-cc\bar{a}$, $-cc\bar{a}$, a(m); as well as -ti, -ivi, -avi, -evi, -eppi, -eppi, -eppi

-ya forms: -ya, -a, -iya, -(i) yāṇa(m), - \bar{i} .

The geographical and chronological distribution of these forms is complex. It seems to have been possible for the Sanskrit consonantal group tv to have a fourfold development in this position in Middle Indo-Aryan: (1) Palatalisation to cc; (2) Samprasāraṇa to tu; (3) Assimilation to tt; (4) Assimilation to pp.

The basic solution seems to be that (2) is perhaps characteristic of the Southern dialects, (3) of the Eastern dialects, (4) of the Western dialects, while (1) is very sporadic.

1. Apart from absolutives of the type $krtv\bar{a}>kicc\bar{a}$, the number of examples of this type of palatalisation quoted by Pischel ² and the grammars based on his work is very limited, and though most

THE GERUND, or so-called conjunctive or absotive participle is frequently used in the Indobe restricted to any one dialect. They are:

> Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Saurasenī tacca < tattva. This word occurs also in Apabhramsa in the form taccu.3 Hemacandra II. 21 derives it from tathya, not tattva, and quotes it as an example of the irregular change of -thy- to -cc- instead of -cch-. Both tattva and tathya can be used in Sanskrit as neuter nouns meaning "truth," and they form similar kinds of compounds, e.g. tathuavādin and tattva-vāda. In Pali the two words are kept apart, but in Prakrit they have become hopelessly confused. Thus Ardhamāgadhī taccā-vāya is the name of part of the lost section of the Jain canon, mentioned in Thananga X, and commentaries and dictionaries alike are undecided whether to derive it from tattva-vāda or tathyavāda. Whichever derivation is correct, the -cc- is most probably due to another influence, that of the near synonym sacca < satya, which is frequent in the Prakrits and in Apabhramsa. The fact that no such influence appears in Pali may be connected with the precision of Buddhist religious technical terms. The Apabhramsa taccu probably represents a continuation of the AMg. form, rather than a renewed influence of sacca. In any case, tacca < tathya or tattva, \neq satya cannot be adduced as an example of a phonetic change.

> Picchī, quoted by Hemacandra (II. 15 and I. 128) as a derivative of pṛthvī, is an isolated form. Pṛthvī seems to have survived in the Prakrits mainly as a semi-learned word; it normally appears as puḍhavī in the Jain canon, though puṭhavī is found in the Candapannatti. The popular forms would be *piṭṭhi or *puṭṭhi, and would in fact be identical with the derivatives of Sanskrit pṛṣṭi 'rib,' which according to Professor Turner has given the modern Hindi pṭṭh 'back,' and identical also with the derivatives of Sanskrit

¹ Cf. J. Bloch, La Formation de la langue marathe (Paris, 1918), pp. 133 ff.

⁽Paris, 1918), pp. 133 ff.

² R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), p. 204.

<sup>Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa (Poona, 1948), pp. 93-97.
H. D. T. Sheth, Paia-sadda-mahannavo (Calcutta,</sup>

^{1923),} p. 525.

⁵ R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (London, 1931), pp. 379-380.

pṛṣṭha 'back' which occurs in Apabraṃśa as piṭṭhi (Sanatkumāracarita 695.6). In Sanskrit pṛṣṭha could have the meaning of "surface," and confusion between pṛṭṭhi<pṛṣṭha and *pṛṭṭhi<pṛṛṭhvī 'earth' was therefore inevitable. In its development into the Modern Indo-Aryan languages pṛṣṭha has given forms with ch, e.g. Hindi pichā, either under the influence of Sanskrit piccha ("tail-feather, lex. "tail") or of paścā, as explained by Professor Turner. This influence also accounts for the form picchī in Hemacandra.

More uncertain is the case of caccara < catvara 'a place where four roads meet.' This word occurs in the Ardha-Māgadhī of the canon, in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī and also in Pali (and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit), while the numeral catvāri appears in these languages as cattāri. The change of tv to cc is therefore almost certainly not purely phonetic in this case. The presence of the cc might be explained by the influence of the root car 'to walk' and its derivatives, such as samcara 'road.'

Further examples of this type of "palatalisation" are:

jhūrai 'to be grieved' (cf. Hindi jhūrnā). This Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa verb has been associated by Professor Jacobi in his glossary to the Sanatkumāracarita with the Sanskrit root dhvar. Alsdorf explains it more convincingly as a derivative of Vedic jūryati, with the not at all infrequent aspiration of j.

Prakrit and Apabhramśa sajjhasa 'fear.' Hemacandra's explanation of this word (II. 26) from Sanskrit sādhvasa is a little doubtful. It seems difficult to dissociate sajjhasa from the Nepali jhaskanu, 'to be startled,' jhaskai 'timidity, fright,' and the associated words, which Professor Turner traces back to a Prakrit *jhasa, *jhassa 'sudden movement,' cognate with Prakrit jhasia 'thrown up' (Deśīnāmamālā III. 62). This Prakrit word is perhaps connected with the Buddhist Sanskrit jhāṣayati discussed by Professor Edgerton' (Skt. Lex \(\nu \) jhaṣ, jaṣ; Pali Lex. jhaṣ, Vedic jasate, jāṣayati). It seems therefore that the Prakrit and Apabhramśa sajjhasa is derived from sa-, which was still very usual as a prefix in

pṛṣṭha 'back' which occurs in Apabhraṃśa as Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, plus the Prakrit jhasa, piṭṭhi (Sanatkumāracarita 695.6). In Sanskrit rather than from Sanskrit sādhvasa, which surpṛṣṭha could have the meaning of "surface," and vived as saddhasa in Prakrit.

Prakrit jhaya < dhvaja. This can be dismissed as a case of assimilation: dhvaja > *jhvaja > *jhaja > jhaya. In its development into the modern languages this word has been combined with danda 'stick, pole,' hence Hindi jhanda etc.

Apabhramśa jhuni 'noise,' is derived by Hemacandra in his grammar I. 52 and IV. 432 from dhvani. Jhuni occurs only in very late Jaina Prakrit and Apabhramsa texts. Hemacandra's explanation is not inevitably correct: dhvani has normally given dhuni in the Prakrits and this may have survived into the modern languages as dhunī (Hindi: Nepali dhuni etc.), although the dental n in P. S. G. M. renders this difficult (Turner, loc. cit. under dhuni). In Apabhramsa one finds a verb jhunai which is equated with jugups- by the grammarians and generally translated 'to scold.' The phonetic development from jugups- to jhunis not satisfactory, and it is much more probable that both this verb and the noun jhuni are of a similar Deśī derivation. Whether Hindi words of the type jhunjhuna 'rattle' are connected remains very doubtful. In any case words of this whole group, including jhuni, which are perhaps onomatopoeic, cannot be adduced as important examples of a sound-change.

vijjam < vidvān is found in Ardhamāgadhī, e.g. in the Sūyagaḍāṅgasutta 126, 306. This word may be derived from vijña (cf. ahijja < abhijña) and was in any case in close semantic association with vijjā < vidyā 'wisdom.'

Ardhamāgadhī bujjhā < buddhvā is based on the cognate verb bujjhai < budhyate.

There is therefore no regular sound change of dental plus v to palatal, and the explanation of the absolutives in $-cc\bar{a}$, $cc\bar{a}na(m)$, in Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī, such as $kicc\bar{a}$ (\sqrt{kr}), from Sanskrit $-tv\bar{a}$, $tv\bar{a}na(m)$ cannot be correct. One must therefore go back to the ex-

planation rejected by Pischel, but still maintained by Gray that the derivation is from the Vedic-tyā, *-tyānam which had survived in popular speech.9

2. The most frequent type of absolutive in the Prakrits ends in $-(t)\bar{u}na$. It is the normal form in Māhārāstrī. It is found already in the Bhābru edict of Aśoka (Hultzsch's reading: abhivādetūnam); it is found in Ardhamāgadhī as well as in Māhārāstrī, also in Jain Saurasenī as -dūna. -dūna even occurs in some of the Saurasenī passages of the Sanskrit and Prakrit plays, though of the grammarians only Hemacandra admits this ending for Saurasenī. Thus the Karpūramanjarī of Rājaśekhara has ghettūna (I. 12.2 in Konow's edition) side by side with the more usual genhia (IV. 19. 18 etc.). -tūna further occurs in Gāthā Pali. Professor Gray claims that the ending -(t) ūṇa represents a contamination of the Vedic -tvāna(m) with the infinitive in -tum and that the existence of the suffix -yāṇa helped in this evolution. He concludes: JS vattidūna < *vartitūna < *vrttvāna ≠ vartitum, but there does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the theory offered by Pischel in this case. Pischel gives the intermediate form $-t\bar{u}\bar{a}na(m)$, attested only by the grammarians, and he thinks therefore that the change to $-(t)\bar{u}na$ is of a phonetic rather than analogical nature. Exactly parallel to -tuāna are the well-attested absolutives gadua and kadua of the verbs gam and kr in Saurasenī, Māgadhī and Dhakkī, in both the texts and the works of the grammarians. It is Samprasāraņa that explains these endings much rather than the influence of the infinitive in -tum. Because of the presence of a long syllable in tuāņa the long \bar{u} in $t\bar{u}na$ is to be expected. The absolutive in $-t\bar{u}na$ is frequent not only in the literary Prakrits, but also in the inscriptions, particularly in the south.10 This absolutive obviously had a certain amount of popular currency, but it was especially a feature of stylized Māhārāstrī poetry, only to be replaced by popular formations according to sound changes (3) and (4), and finally by derivatives of -ya. The literary nature of the absolutives in -una accounts for their survival in passages of Apabhramsa poetry that are meant to be archaizing, and are modelled on Māhārāstrī poetry.

⁶ L. Alsdorf, Der Kumārapālapratibodha (Hamburg, 1928), p. 53.

⁷ F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (New Haven, 1953), p. 246.

 $^{^8}$ The way in which this sound change should have taken place has never been satisfactorily explained. Pischel, followed half-heartedly by Ghatage, Introduction to $Ardha\cdot M\bar{a}gadhi$ (Kolhapur, 1946), had believed in a substitution of y for v. Tagare's suggestion (loc. cit.) tv > tt > cc is evidently impossible. Doubts on this subject are also expressed by F. Edgerton, $Buddhist\ Hybrid\ Sanskrit\ Grammar$ (New Haven, 1953), 35; 39.

^o L. H. Gray, "Observations on Middle Indian Morphology," BSOS VIII (1935-7), pp. 574-5.

¹⁰ M. A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits (Poona, 1948).

The change of tv to tu by Samprasāraņa was only to some extent regional; it was also a learned feature, and is found particularly in words borrowed from Sanskrit right up to the modern period. V tvar 'to hasten,' appears already in Southern Asokan with a u. tūlanāya and tulāye. found in the Dhauli and Jaugada Edicts respectively; Apabhramśa has turai; the Hindi turant is associated with this. The second person pronoun is similar in development to the absolutive: tvam > tumam. Here the u forms are spread even further than in the case of the absolutive and are by no means characteristic of the south alone.10* This is due to the influence of the Vedic tuvam and other declensional forms of the second person. e. g. Sanskrit tubhyam, which have the radical tu-. The forms developed according to sound change (2) were particularly favoured in this case because sound change (3) led to confusion with tam of the third person, while sound change (4) led to confusion with the derivatives of atman. 10b Although there is little doubt that on the whole the change of tv to tu was southern, the absolutives in $-\bar{u}na$ appear to have died out even in the south by the Apabhramsa period, and their survival into Modern Marathi has been definitely disproved by Bloch 11 (Marathi -ūn, older ūni, auni etc.).

^{3.} The change of tv to tt is found in $-tt\bar{a}$. $-tt\bar{a}na(m)$ from $-tv\bar{a}$ $-tv\bar{a}nam$. This is the most usual absolutive in Ardhamāgadhī, but it occurs also in Jain Māhārāstrī and Jain Saurasenī in passages that are under the influence of the Svetāmbara Jain canon. There are no survivals of this ending in Apabhramśa; the so-called Eastern Apabhramśa of the Dohākosas and the Dākārnava only has -i. There have however been theories, not generally accepted, that -ttānam spread towards the south and has survived in the modern Marathi 12 -tām. The reason for the absence of the absolutives in -ttā, ttānam in Apabhramsa may be the fact that they tended to coincide with the Eastern form of the suffixes -tvā, tvāņa of the abstract nouns. In any case the fact that -ttā, -ttānam is

¹⁰a tuvam is also found in Pali, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and the Prakrit grammarians.

^{10b} Derivatives of $\bar{a}tman$ tended to undergo aphaeresis, as for instance in Kashmiri $p\bar{a}n$, Guj. pote etc., and possibly also in Nepali $p\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$, unless the latter is to be derived directly from the Sanskrit $tm\bar{a}$.

¹¹ J. Bloch, op. cit., paragraph 264.

¹² J. Bloch, op. cit., paragraph 262, and Rājvāde "Vyākaran," p. 109, and S. G. Tulpule, Yādavakālin Marāthī Bhāṣā (Bombay, 1942).

essentially Eastern and that it does not appear in Apabhramsa makes the theory of its survival in Marathi unlikely.

Vararuci and the so-called "Eastern School of Grammarians" give a form -dāni as an ending of the absolutive in Māgadhī.13 Hemacandra does not give this form, and it does not appear to exist in the Magadhi of the dramas. Nevertheless such a form might well have existed in spoken Māgadhī, and it would represent an extraordinary weakening 14 of the morphological termination: -ttāna> *-tana>*-dana (a development parallel to that of the Western -evinu etc.). The final -i is no doubt substituted for the -a under the influence of the absolutive in -i, which is also attributed to Magadhi by the grammarians, though it does not become general until Apabhramsa. This double absolutive was probably never very widely used and disappeared entirely in favour of the simple -i which is the basis of the modern absolutive.

4. The first indications of the sound change tv > pp are found in the Aśokan inscriptions. The Girnār Edicts have the absolutive forms ārabhitpā (I. 3.), dasayitpā (IV. 4), paricajitpā (X. 4.), alocetpā (XIV.6). Apart from these one finds neither in the texts nor in the works of the grammarians any further derivatives of absolutives in -tvā, -tvānam with the labial type of assimilation. One only finds derivatives of the Vedic -tvī (-tvinam [Gr. only]), which seem to have been characteristic of the N. W. districts as is shown by the absolutives in -ti found in the Asokan Edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā and in the later Kharosthi inscriptions, $(-ti < -tv\bar{\imath}$ by soundchange (3), which seems to have penetrated to the North-West). The endings -tvī (and -tvīnam) seem to have replaced tvā, -tvānam fairly early in the West, and they coexisted with the absolutives in -ia, which are the usual forms in Saurasenī.

From the evidence of the Prakrits it would appear as if the labialising tendency were not confined to the Western districts; it was probably a vulgar feature that took a long time to become established in the literary languages, and it had its centre of radiation in the West. Modern interborrowing of words has obscured the situation still further. One finds examples of labialisation in an

early Eastern language like the Ardhamāgadhī of

the canon: be < dve; besa (Panhav. 397) and baissa

15 A. Weber, Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla (Leipzig,

lars most closely associated with Digambara and Svetāmbara Apabhramśa the form is found to be moribund. It occurs for instance in archaising passages in the Old Western Rajasthani texts examined by Tessitori,20 while in the later texts of the same region e.g. the Dhola Marura Duha. there is no sign of it. There are only the forms in -i and -ī. These are from -ia and -ua, as is now generally accepted 21 despite the views of Tessitori. The labial type of absolutive had been further weakened by the time of the later Apabhramsa texts by the tendency to drop the intervocalic -v-. This leads to confusing forms such as mamnai for

mamnavi in the Sandeśarāsaka.22 This seems to have caused the loss of the labial type of absolutive. but there is a possibility that it survived for a time in the East Centre and left remnants in early Awadhi, 16th century Awadhi has absolutives in -i but also infinitive forms, mainly used in the oblique, in -ai (Padumāwatī of Jāvasī: calai, sunai etc.). Dr. Saksena 23 is uncertain as to the origin of these verbal nouns in -ai, but they might well go back to the Apabhramsa absolutive with loss of the -v- intervocalic. Apart from these uncertain remnants, the labial type of absolutive, so popular in Apabhramsa, has died out completely.

⁽Uttar. 961) < dvesya. Jaina Prakrit has ubbhe < ūrdhva and the Māhārāṣṭrī of Hāla 15 in one recension has bāra for dāra from dvāra (Hala A. 35. cf. also Hemacandra I. 79), as well as pahunnai. which may come from *prabhutvati. By the time of Apabhramsa this tendency has become more generally accepted, and it is found in both Svetāmbara and Digambara Apabhramsa. Examples are the endings of the absolutive, the suffix -pa, -pana of abstract nouns (tva, -tvana), the form pai of the second person pronoun, which occurs side by side with the Eastern form tai, and has only disappeared in the modern languages of the West on account of its similarity to the derivatives of atman > appa. The absolutive suffixes $-(i) tv\bar{i}$, and -(i) tvīnam by this soundchange became -eppi and -eppinu.16 With extraordinary weakening 17 these endings gave -eviņu, -evi, -ivi, changed sometimes further to -avi. The short forms -evi and -ivi are the most frequent in Apabhramsa from the beginning, and they appear in Prakrit texts influenced by popular speech where the Apabhramsa endings of the absolutive have penetrated. Absolutives in -evi, -ivi are thus found in the Paümacariva of Vimalasūri, in the Māhārāstrī text of the Dhūrtākhyāna 18 (e. g. pindevi III. 18), while the Līlāvaīkahā 19 has samānavi. Although -eppinu and -eppi were doubtless stages in the evolution to -evi, -evinu, they were only transitory. They are still found fairly frequently in the early Southern Apabhramsa of Caturmukha and Tribhuyana Svayambhu, but in the later Digambara and Svetāmbara texts forms in -pp- are extremely rare. One generally finds only -evi, -ivi, -avi, and increasing numbers of absolutives in -i. Forms containing -v- still occur in late texts such as the Apabhramśa verses quoted in the Prabandhacintāmani (p. 24 v. 40 of the edition in the Singhi Jain Series: pikkhivi; p. 23, v. 48 tuttavi, var. tuttī). Still the labial form of the absolutive is distinctly Apabhramsa; by the time of the modern vernacu-

¹³ W. E. Clarke, "Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī," JAOS

XLIV (1924), pp. 81 ff. 14 R. L. Turner, "The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan," JRAS 1927.

¹⁶ For a tentative explanation of the e see JRAS 1952,

¹⁷ R. L. Turner, loc. cit., JRAS 1927.

¹⁸ Dhūrtākhyāna, ed. A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series no. 19 (Bombay, 1940).

¹⁹ Ed. A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series no. 31 (Bombay, 1949), v. 750.

²⁰ L. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani," IA XLIV (1915), paragraph 131. 21 S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (Calcutta, 1926), pp. 1011 ff.

²² Cf. verse 67a and Introduction p. 14 of the edition by Jina Vijaya Muni and H. Bhāyānī in the Singhi Jain Series (Bombay, 1943).

²⁸ B. Saksena, "The verb in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdas," Allahabad University Studies II (1926), paragraph 62,

NOTES ON THE DECLENSION OF FEMININE NOUNS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. Schwarzschild

"The tendencies of Apabhramśa in phonetics and grammar help to bridge the gap between typical Prakrit and the modern languages." A. Woolner ¹ expressed this view in 1928 when comparatively few Apabhramśa texts had been published and the remarkable continuity of the Indo-Aryan languages was accepted as a fact. Since then their general pattern of development, which appeared with simple clarity to Woolner, has often been obscured by the wealth of linguistic material of the Middle Indo-Aryan period that has come to light.

There is known to be a number of cases where Apabhramśa, as revealed in the texts, does not provide a link between Prakrit and the modern languages. There have been two alternative views on

how such inconsistencies are to be explained.

Any feature of modern Indo-Aryan, Apabhramśa or Prakrit, that could not be linked with the language immediately preceding it, is regarded by some as a survival from a much earlier phase of Indo-Aryan, i.e. Vedic, or even Indo-Iranian and Indo-European. For instance, the old pronoun of the third person, ava- is already moribund 2 in the Rigveda, where it occurs only in the genitivelocative dual, avos; it does not occur in Sanskrit, Prakrit, or in Southern or Western Apabhramśa and yet it is regarded by some ³ as the basis of the modern remote demonstrative pronoun: Braj wo, wuh, wah; Panjabi oh, uh, etc. This type of explanation dismisses the main literary languages, Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Apabhramśa as artificial and seeks for the true continuity in the spoken language in as far as it is unattested by the written documents. Carried to extremes this view would make us believe in "a mysterious living language without written texts, as is usually claimed by philologists, without much documentary or philological evidence "4-a complaint sometimes made in the field of Romance philology.

¹ A. Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit, 2nd edition, Lahore, 1928, p. 6.

3 J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen, Paris, 1934, p. 198.

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Some linguists, on the other hand, have laid stress on the connection between the spoken and the written languages throughout the history of Indo-Aryan. Incongruencies are therefore explained as independent creations: thus Baburam Saksena ¹ suggests that the pronoun wo, wuh, or wah of Eastern Hindi is not a survival of the Vedic ava-, but a new creation on the analogy of the proximate demonstrative pronoun yah. This type of explanation leads us to see a constant process of recreation in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages, rather than a continuous evolution.

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Some of the inconsistencies between the consecutive phases of Indo-Aryan may be only apparent and this seems to be the case in the declension of feminines in Prakrit. The most striking feature of the declension of feminine nouns in Prakrit is extreme simplicity; the four oblique forms of Sanskrit have been virtually reduced to one.

			Sanskrit.	Pali.	Prakrit.
Feminine	Instrumental	· Provi	mâlayâ	mâlâya	mâlâe
,,	Dative .		mâlâyai	,,	, ,,
,,	Ablative, Genitive	<i>т</i> е	mâlâyâḥ	,,	,,
,,	Locative .	•	mâlâyâm	,,	,,
Masculine	Dative .		devâya	devâya	devâe

The declension of feminines ending in $-\hat{\imath}$ and $-\hat{\imath}$ is parallel to the $-\hat{\imath}$ declension.

There are, however, variants in some of the Prakrits, particularly in the inscriptions; e.g. Ardha-Mâgadhî, Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî, and Mâhârâṣṭrî have an ablative mâlâo, which is borrowed from the masculine ablative, and this is also found occasionally in the Saurasenī of the dramas. Further, Mâhârâṣṭrî and Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî have the variants -âa and âi in the instrumental, genitive, and locative and according to the grammarians also in the ablative.

Pischel ² explained the usual Prakrit oblique in -e from the dative in -yai which replaced the other terminations in the spoken language. In support of this theory he quoted the fact that the dative ending -yai is used for the genitive-ablative ending -yâh once in the Atharvaveda and frequently in the Brâhmanas. There is a similar

² S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, p. 837.

⁴ H. F. Muller, A Chronology of Vulgar Latin, Halle, 1929. JRAS, OCTOBER 1956.

¹ Baburam Saksena, The Evolution of Awahdi, Allahabad, 1937, p. 180.

² R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strassburg, 1900, p. 259.

substitution of the dative for the genitive-ablative in the younger Avesta, and one is therefore tempted to think that Prakrit usage continued an older pre-Sanskrit type of inflection as, for instance, in the instrumental plural masculine: Prakrit devehim, Sanskrit devaih, Vedic devebhih. This theory has been generally accepted in works of Prakrit grammar. It leaves the ending of the instrumental unaccounted for, as there is no substitution of -yai for the instrumental in the Brâhmanas. It also does not explain the terminations of Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Geiger, in his discussion of the Pali oblique forms in -âya, supposes on the other hand that the ablative-genitive ending has replaced the instrumental, dative, and partially the locative ending in Pali. Instead of accepting these contradictory theories of substitution of cases it may be possible, as suggested by Professor Alsdorf,2 to explain both the Pali and the Prakrit endings by regular phonetic changes, which were helped by a certain amount of syntactic liberty.

Prakrit Endings.—It seems probable that the instrumental forms in -ayâ changed to -âyâ under the influence of the remaining declensional forms of the feminine noun, both singular and plural, where the long vowel at the end of the base was characteristic. The bulk of the Asokan inscriptions, with some exceptions in the north and north-west, have a final -âyâ in the instrumental, e.g. pûjâyâ (Girnâr). There are also some rare cases of such forms in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, quoted by Professor Edgerton, e.g. bhâryâyâ sârdham (Mahâvastu, ii, 443, 8). The final long -â tended to be shortened as it was preceded by an accented syllable and we therefore also find -âya in the Aśokan inscriptions, e.g. isâya (Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions). This instrumental in -âya has survived as the usual form in Pali, it occurs in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and in popular Jain Mâhârâştrî (e.g. in the Vasudevahindi). According to Pischel the final -âya can only develop to -âa,4 which is in fact found as a variant in Mâhârâṣṭrî. In the Prakrits ya is sometimes replaced by -i- by samprasârana and this accounts for the other Mâhârâstrî variant. mâlâi.

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The syllable ya may also change to ye or e in Prakrit. Examples for this are early: ye occurs instead of yam < Sanskrit yad even in inscriptions where the normal nominative singular neuter ends in -am (Mânsehra Edicts). The further change to e is seen in the Kâlsi, Dhauli, and Jaugada and a number of other Asokan inscriptions, in some cases even in the accusative singular, where the influence of the -e type of nominative is most unlikely. From the general evidence of the Aśokan and the later inscriptions 1 it appears that the change of a to e, when preceded by y, was only just beginning in the third century B.C. Pali always retains ya. It is probable that the soundchange ya > ye > e is one of the developments common to the north-west and to the east of India. It was adopted, on the whole, by the literary Prakrits in the case of the oblique endings of the feminine, but the language of the Midland tended to keep the old forms (Mâhârâṣṭrî -âa, popular Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî -âya). This point of similarity between the north-west and the east of India is by no means isolated in Middle Indo-Aryan: a parallel case, for instance, is the use of the masculine nominative singular ending of Ardha-Mâgadhî and Mâgadhî in the north-west and sometimes in Niva Prakrit.^{2, 3} On account of the sound-change ya > ye we therefore find -ye as the instrumental ending of feminine nouns already in the Asokan inscriptions of the north and north-west and it recurs in a later period in inscriptions from other regions, e.g. the Mathura Jain inscription of the second century B.C., bhayâye. With the loss of the -y- of -ye there developed the ending that is usual in Prakrit, e.g. mâlâe. This same sound-change of ya > ye > e accounts also for the dative singular of masculine nouns: Sanskrit devâya, Prakrit devâe. This explanation is supported by the existence of the variants in -âa found in Mâhârâṣṭrî and also in verses in Mâgadhî and -âya in Ardhamâgadhī verses and in popular Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî.

The dative was extremely rare in Middle Indo-Aryan and was therefore open to the influence of other more frequent oblique cases. This, as shown by Geiger, helps to explain the Pali form. The ending

Cambridge, 1937.

¹ W. Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache, Strassburg, 1916.

 $^{^2}$ L. Alsdorf, "The Vasudevahindi, a specimen of archaic Jain Mâhârâşṭrî," $BSOS.,\,1935.$

³ F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, New Haven, 1953, p. 64. ⁴ For a further possible contraction of the final to -â, cf. A. Meillet, "Le datif

védique avîrate," BSL., xxi.

¹ M. A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, Poona, 1948. ² T. Burrow, The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan,

³ Sir G. A. Grierson explains similarities between the modern languages of the East and West by his theory of Inner and Outer languages, cf. his work "On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", *Indian Antiquary*, supplement, 1931. The reason for the similarity in this case lies, however, more probably in the religious contacts between the two regions.

-yai could only give -ye in Pali and ye, -e in Prakrit. -ye is the rule in the Asokan inscriptions (except for vadhiya in the Shahbazgarhi Edicts). As the final -âya of the other oblique cases became -âye, -âe by phonetic changes, these cases tended to be confused with the dative and one therefore finds -âya used for the dative in Prakrit: e.g. the Nânâghât inscription of Western India has Nâyanikâya and

the Bhâjâ inscription has the datives jayâyâ, Bhâdhayâ.

The ablative-genitive and the locative endings are, like the instrumental, derived from the corresponding Sanskrit endings by regular phonetic changes. The genitive and ablative forms in -âyâh lost the final visarga which rendered them identical with the -âyâ, -ayâ of the instrumental. -âyâ is found occasionally in the Prakrit inscriptions, thus the Bharaut inscription of Central India has Pudikâyâ (ablative) and Nâgadevâyâ (genitive), and with the usual shortening of the final $-\hat{a}$ we also find $-\hat{a}ya$. The ending then develops in exactly the same way as that of the instrumental and this accounts for the inscriptional -aye, the standard Prakrit -âe, and the Mâhârâstrî variant -âa.

By the rule of shortening of the final vowel after an accented syllable the ending -yâm of the locative gave -yam, which is found in the inscriptions of Asoka except in the north, north-west, and east; thus the Girnâr inscription has gananâyam. This ending survives into later Prakrit inscriptions and into popular Jain Mâhârâstrî as, for instance, in the Vasudevahindi. Final anusvâra is extremely weak and tends to disappear, as is the case, for instance, with the final nasal of the genitive plural ending in Mâhârâṣṭrî. There is also a tendency for anusvâra to disappear with lengthening of the preceding vowel; examples of this have been noted in popular works in Jain Mâhârâşţrî,1 in the Paumacariya of Vimalasûri and the Vasudevahindi. The loss of the nasal made the locative identical with the other oblique cases and its development was the same. It is thus evident that the confusion between the cases of the oblique of feminine nouns was due to phonetic causes: in the literary Prakrits there was no substitution of cases and in the inscriptions and in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and popular Jain Mâhârâşţrî such a substitution took place only in the 186 DECLENSION OF FEMININE NOUNS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

II

Phonetic change alone cannot account for the inconsistencies between Prakrit and Apabhramsa in the declension of feminine nouns. In Apabhramsa the ending -e is found only in the instrumental, generally with shortening of the preceding vowel (mâlae), while the dative, genitive and ablative, and locative have a new ending -he (mâlahe) and more rarely -hi, -him. It has been shown by Professor Alsdorf 1 and by Dr. H. C. Bhayani 2 that -he was the original ending of all the oblique cases of the feminine except the instrumental, and that the variants in -hi, -him, which occur occasionally, are a late and secondary feature in Apabhramsa.

There are a number of explanations for this ending -he.

A. (i) Pischel 3 thought that -he came from -suah, which is found in the genitive-ablative singular of the feminine of the pronominal declension in Sanskrit and which has survived in the Palitassâ < Skt. tasyâh and Prakrit tissâ < *tîsyâh.

(ii) Tagare 4 follows Pischel, but assumes that hi and not -he is the correct ending in the locative and that this -hi may be based on

the Prakrit ahi, Sanskrit adhi, usually a verbal prefix.

(iii) Professor S. Sen ⁵ carries Pischel's explanation to the extreme. he adopts, on the whole, the explanation for -he, but for the variant in -him he quotes a prototype *-bhim, which is a hypothetical Indo-Aryan ending, parallel to the Greek $\phi\iota$.

B. Professor Alsdorf 6 regards the ending -he as the result of a contamination between the Prakrit oblique in -e, which survives in the instrumental in Apabhramsa and the masculine genitive-

ablative-dative ending -ha, -ho of Apabhramsa.

The main failing of Alsdorf's theory is that it leaves the locative unexplained. The Prakrit ending -e did not simply, wherever it occurred, become -he under the influence of the masculine ending -ha, -ho, as there is no evidence of an -h- in the instrumental: the confusion between the oblique cases found in the feminine in Prakrit was not continued by Apabhramsa. The -h- must therefore have been

¹ A. N. Upadhye, Dhûrtâkhyâna, a critical study, Singhi Jain Series, No. 19, Bombay, 1944, p. 51.

¹ L. Alsdorf, Harivamáapurána, Hamburg, 1936, Introduction, p. 164.

² H. C. Bhayani, Paumacariu of Svayambhudeva, Singhi Jain Series, No. 34, Bombay, 1953, pp. 64 ff.

³ R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 260.

⁴ G. V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa, Poona, 1948, p. 157.

⁵ S. Sen, "Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan," Indian Linguistics, xi, 1949-1950, p. 59.

⁶ L. Alsdorf, Apabhramśa-Studien, Hamburg, 1937.

borrowed only in those cases where the masculine had an -h- ending. This excludes the locative, where the usual termination of the masculine in Apabhramśa ¹ was a simple -e. It is also significant that the oblique of the feminine of the demonstrative pronoun in Apabhramśa is always tâhe, tahe, while the masculine is still usually tasa, tâsu, etc. It is therefore very probable that Pischel's method of derivation is correct here and that the pronominal declension provides the link between Sanskrit and Prakrit and Apabhramśa. The declensional systems of nouns and pronouns have constantly influenced each other and this is evident already from the pronouns in Prakrit.

Declension of the feminine of the demonstrative pronoun sa:—

	Sanskrit	Pali.	Prakrit.
Instrumental	tayâ	tâya	M. tîe, tîa, AMg tîe, tâe, Ś. tâe
Dative .	tasyai	tasså or tisså	
Ablative	tasyâh	tâya .	" AMg also tão
Genitive	,,	tassâ or tissâ	M. tissâ, tîe, tîa, AMg tîse, tâe, tîe, Ś. tâe
Locative	tasyâm	tassam or tâyam, tissam	,, but also M.AMg and JM $t\hat{a}he$

Here the link with the Apabhramśa declension is clear: the instrumental is the only case of the feminine noun in Apabhramśa that does not have an -h- ending; it is also the only case of the feminine pronoun in Prakrit and Sanskrit that does not take an -s-ending.

Of the Prakrit forms $t\hat{a}e$ represents the phonetic development of the instrumental $tay\hat{a} > t\hat{a}y\hat{a} > t\hat{a}ya > t\hat{a}ye > t\hat{a}e$ and of the other oblique cases when they were influenced by nominal declension (e.g. ablative sg. * $t\hat{a}y\hat{a}h$ > Pali $t\hat{a}ya$ and Prakrit $t\hat{a}e$).

There was in Prakrit also a new stem of the pronoun $t\hat{\imath}$, which was based on the frequent final $-\hat{\imath}$ of feminine nouns and, in particular, the suffix $k\hat{\imath}$. This new stem seems to have been usual mainly in the Midland, it never penetrated into Saurasen and did not oust the original stem completely in the Eastern dialects. The instrumental of $t\hat{\imath}$, $t\hat{\imath}$ ya gave $t\hat{\imath}$ a in Mâhârâṣṭrî and with the change of -ya to -ye, -e, it gave $t\hat{\imath}$ e.

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In Mâhârâştrî this new stem has a genitive-ablative and locative tissâ < *tîsyâh and *tîsyâm (= tasyâh and tasyâm). In the regions where a after y sometimes changed to e there was also a tendency for all the -s- endings to be confused and *tîsyai, *tîsyâh, and *tîsyâm gave tîse in Ardha-Mâgadhî. This form is interesting as it shows the intermediate stage of the sound-change sy > s > h (as a parallel, cf. the rare form of the future dâsâmo in the Ayârangasutta). The change of s < sy to h is found mainly in the Eastern and Central Middle Indo-Aryan and only occurs in terminational elements (e.g. -sya > -ha in the genitive singular of masculine nouns in Apabhramsa) and in words frequently used in an unstressed position such as numerals. The oblique tîse shows that this sound-change also tended to affect the feminine of pronouns. An even more advanced form of the sound-change is found in the Ardha-Mâgadhî, Mâhârâştrî, and Jain Mâhârâştrî "locative" tâhe, derived from *tâse, which is parallel to tîse. One would expect such a form tâhe, if it penetrated into the literary language at all, to be used as a general oblique (except instrumental) like tîse; but this is not the case. Tâhe < *tâse became completely confused with the derivative of the Sanskrit temporal adverb tarhi = "then". There is also a similar confusion between the relative pronoun and yarhi = "when". This is proved by the fact that the adverbs tarhi and yarhi always give tâhe and jâhe in Prakrit, with a final e and not i. On the other hand the pronoun was influenced sufficiently by the adverb to have adopted an exclusively locative sense instead of remaining a general oblique. The form tâhe as an adverb then influenced the parallel adverb etarhi, which therefore always appears as ettâhe, not ettâhi. Tâhe and jâhe are generally used more like adverbs than part of a pronoun in Prakrit and constructions of the following type are frequent: jâhe no samcâenti tesim solasanham royâyankânam egamavi uvâsamittae, tâhe santâ tantâ jâva padigayâ = "when they were unable to suppress even one of those sixteen diseases, then they were quiet and subdued and . . . went home " (Nâyadhammakahâo, i, vii). In later Mâhârâṣṭrî and Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî texts tâhe continued to be used mainly as a temporal adverb and is recognized as such by the grammarians: cf. Vararuci, vi, 8, âhe iâ kâle = "Instead of i in the sense of time, $-\hat{a}he$ and $-i\hat{a}$ are optionally substituted in the above pronouns" (the other optional forms are tahim and jahim, which are based on the locative singular masculine). This same rule of Vararuci is repeated by later writers, cf. Hemacandra,

 $^{^1}$ The endings ${\it -hi}$, ${\it -him}$, are not usual in the masculine locative until late in the Apabhramśa period and they are based on the analogy of the pronominal declension.

iii, 65. The more popular texts in Prakrit, such as the Paumacariya of Vimalasûri, the Dhûrtâkhyâna and the Lîlâvaîkahâ all adhere to the standard practice of literary Prakrit in using tâhe as an adverb and the declension of the oblique of nouns and pronouns remains unaffected. There is therefore no evidence of a direct link between this adverbial form and the new ending -he of Apabhramśa.

The influence of adverbs on declension is widespread, as can be seen from the ablatives in o of Prakrit based on -tas, found in tatas itas, etc.; or the use of tatra = where, as the locative singular of the masculine pronoun in Niya Prakrit. It still remains unlikely, however, that a form as definitely temporal in meaning as tahe should have influenced the whole of the feminine declension in Apabhramáa.

There is, however, an indirect link between the Prakrit tâhe and the Apabhramsa ending -he. The forms of the pronoun based on tî-, although so frequent in Mâhârâstrî have not been continued in either Digambara Apabhramśa or Śvetâmbara Apabhramśa, both of which use only the tâ-stem, as had been the case in Saurasenî. Tie occurs as an instrumental in Apabhramsa, but only in comparatively few instances. The presence of tie on rare occasions in Digambara Apabhramsa can be explained by the influence of the literary language of the Midland, and in Svetâmbara Apabhramśa by the influence of the language of the Jain canon. The regular form of the instrumental in both Apabhramsa dialects is tâe. The demonstrative pronoun feminine, like the interrogative and the relative, was now treated as an -d stem. The place of tîse is therefore occupied by tâhe < *tâse and it is very probable that this form *tâse had an uninterrupted existence in the spoken language of those parts of the country where the stem in -î had never been favoured (cf. Śaurasenî); that is particularly in the west and west-central region, the home of Svetâmbara and Digambara Apabhramśa.

The regional distribution of the Prakrits and Apabhramśa is such that the two main literary forms of Apabhramśa cannot be said to have arisen directly from any particular form of literary Prakrit.

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But as can be seen from the history of the feminine declension in Middle Indo-Aryan, the comparison of the documents in the known Prakrit dialects may reveal the conditions of the spoken language in the other regions and show the elements that later make up the grammatical system of Apabhramśa. The Prakrits therefore cannot be dismissed as being purely artificial.

¹ There are also some obscure cases of influence of the adverbs on declension as, for instance, Apabhramśa tuddha, tuddhra, which is mentioned as the genitive singular of the 2nd person pronoun by Hemacandra and occurs in the Bhavisayattakahā and the Paumasiricariu of Dhâhila, two texts that are very much akin in language. Tudhra may be based on the usual Apabhramśa genitive tuha under the influence of tatra, etc. (cf. tadru, yadru, found in the grammarians (Kî., 5, 50) and the curious demonstratives tram and drum and the relative dhrum quoted by Hemacandra, iv. 360).

NOTES ON SOME MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN WORDS IN -LL-.

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has recently given a clear exposition of the accepted view that some verbal roots in Sanskrit contain suffixes that also occur in nouns: "These elements are easily recognisable, either through the coexistence of a simpler form of the root, or by the existence of synonymous roots which differ only in ments. the final element. The identity of these elements with the suffixes enumerated in dealing with the formation of nouns is evident, and it is in accordance with the fact that nominal and verbal stems are formed fundamentally on the same principles." 1 The Sanskrit grammarians, laying all the stress on the derivation of nouns from verbal roots, lost sight of this fundamental similarity between noun and verb; the only verbs they usually recognised as being associated in formation with nouns were the denominative verbs, obviously formed from nouns

¹ T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language (London, 1955), 289-291

In The Sanskrit Language Professor Burrow with the addition of -yá-. Though unrecognized by the grammarians, the bond between nominal and verbal stems was still part of the living language in the Middle Indo-Aryan period, and an attempt is made here to prove this by an examination of some Prakrit and Apabhramsa develop-

> One of the Middle Indo-Aryan words that have caused some discussion is solla. It appears in the Paiasaddamahannavo 2 as five different words:

- (1) a verb 'to throw'
- (2) a verb 'to drive forward'
- (3) a noun—'meat'
- (4) a verb 'to cook'
- (5) an adjective 'cooked'

Of these five words, (1) and (2) obviously represent one and the same verb: the meaning 'to drive

forward, to move' is given in the Dhatvadesas 3 of the very late grammarians Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa and Mārkandēva, and is close enough in meaning to ksip- 'to throw, to direct towards,' given as equivalent by Hemacandra, who also uses the word with the latter meaning in the Kumarapālacarita (Vl. 97). solla- (1) and (2) can therefore easily be regarded as one verb.

Attempts * have been made to derive the remaining three words solla from śūla 'spit,' via śūlya > solla, 'cooked on a spit.' A variant explanation presupposes a Sanskrit original *saulya 'cooked on a spit.' There are no phonetic difficulties in these explanations, but the development of the meaning is very doubtful. We find for instance in the Vivāgasuva, 11th Anga of the Svetambara Jain canon, a description of the wrongful deed of eating eggs. Here the verb soll- is used: Vivagasuva I. 3 bahūnam jalayarathalayatakhahayaramāinam andayae tavaesu ya kavallīsu ya bhajjanaesu ya ingālesu ya talenti, bhajjanti, sollenti 'They heat, fry and cook in saucepans, cooking vessels, frying pans, and on coal the eggs of many mother creatures that roam in the water, on land and in the sky.' Here the meaning of 'roasting on a spit' is out of the question, because of the other utensils that are mentioned and because it would be impossible anyway with eggs. Pischel 5 quotes ingāla-solliya in Ovavaiya 74 'cooked on coal,' which according to him also excludes the idea of a spit. From the way √ soll- is used, and from the evidence of the verbs parallel with it in these descriptions, it is clear that soll- simply means 'to cook.' It is very often used of cooking meat, as for instance in the Vivāgasuva I. 2. where there is a description of the cooking of sundry cuts of meat. Also for instance in the Nirayavaliyao I: Seniyassa ranno uyaravalimamsehim sollehi ya taliehi ya bhajjiehi . . . dohalam vinenti 'they assuage their longing by means of the flesh . . . of King Srenika, cooked, heated and fried.' Because of the association of solla 'cooked' with māmsa 'meat,' and also probsusamthia sullamāmsammi -susamstia śūlaprotam māmsam

the word solla was wrongly understood to mean 'meat' and was derived from śūlua. This meaning is unknown to Prakrit and Apabhramsa texts and one can therefore dismiss from discussion solla (3) as it is a "ghost word."

There remain then an adjective solla 'cooked' and a verb soll- 'to cook,' which from the Prakrit evidence quoted above are not derived from śūla 'spit.' As already suggested by Pischel these two words are connected with the Sanskrit Vsūd 'to prepare, to cook.' According to Pischel 6 the development of the Prakrit solla from √sūd- is an instance of the tendency for d to change to l via d, parallel cases are J. M. palīvei < pradīpayati etc. He explains the adjectival form solla from *sūdna. for sūdita. The comparative rarity of the change of d to l as well as the doubling of the -l- make it unlikely that we are here in the presence of a straightforward sound change, and it appears that the formation is at least to some extent analogical.

There exist in Prakrit a certain number of nouns and adjectives that contain -ll- where Sanskrit had -dr-. These forms are no doubt based on an earlier -dl-, as has been shown by Professor Turner.7 Thus Sanskrit bhadra corresponds to J. M. bhalla, ksudra to culla, chidra to chilla (also ut-chidra > ucchilla).8 Allied to these is J. M. challi, 'skin, hide,' from \(\chad-\) 'to cover.' Similarly Sanskrit ārdra 'moist,' appears in Amg., J. M., and M. as alla. The same Prakrit dialects also have an adjective olla, meaning 'moist.' This is however not based on ārdra, but on *udra, *udla (hypothetical adjectives), which are derived from √ud- 'to moisten.' ulla becomes olla with the usual development of u- to o- before a double consonant. olla was confused with alla because of the identity of meaning, and this accounts for the Prakrit grammarians associating both words with

² H. D. T. Sheth, Paiasaddamahannavo (Calcutta, 1925), s. v. solla.

ably because of a misinterpretation of Hemacandra (VIII. 39 of the Desīnāmamālā):

³ G. A. Grierson, "The Prakrit Dhātvādeśas," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII, no. 2 (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 77-170.

^{*} E.g. by A. F. Hoernle, Uvāsagadasāo (Calcutta, 1890), glossary, s. v.; also by P. L. Vaidya, Uvāsaga dasão (Poona, 1930), glossary s. v.

⁵ R. Pischel. Grammatik der Prakritsprachen (Strass-

burg, 1900), p. 171.

Pischel, loc. cit.

⁷ R. L. Turner, Dictionary of the Nepali Language (London, 1931), s.v. bhalo, p. 471. Pischel however thought that the change was dr>dd>ll, op. cit., para-

^{*} Some of these words were later reborrowed into Sanskrit: bhalla and challih are found in the works of lexicographers, though their popular origin was recognized (e.g. by Vāmana).

ārdra. There was thus one case of a root in -d. \sqrt{ud} (with a number of derivatives uda (ka) etc.) forming a new adjective, olla. On this was based a new verb, ollei 'to moisten,' whose past participle passive, olliya, is frequent in J. M. and M. It was probably on this pattern that \sqrt{nud} (also a verb with numerous derivatives, -nuda etc.) 'to push' formed a new verb nollei 'to push.' Similarly the adjective solla and the verb sollei were formed from $\sqrt{s\bar{u}d}$, 'to settle, to prepare, to cook' (derivatives of $\sqrt{s\bar{u}d}$ being $s\bar{u}da$ etc.). This derivation explains the fact that there are such similar adjective and verb forms, and it also explains the double meaning of the Prakrit verb 'to direct' (solla (1) and (2)) and 'to cook,' and the words solla (1-5) are thus accounted for.

As ollei followed olla, *chillei 'to cut, to tear' followed chilla 'torn, a hole,' and we find in J.M. a past participle of this verb, chillia 'torn.' There are a number of parallel formations in Prakrit: on the pattern \sqrt{chid} -*chillei, \sqrt{bhid} 'to split' formed *bhillei, with the past participle bhillia; as \sqrt{chad} 'to cover' formed the derivative challi 'a skin,' vi-hrád 'to make a noise' formed vihallai, and ni-ksad 'to cut up' nicchallai.

The group of verbs in -ll- which was already swollen in Prakrit by the appearance of all the forms cited above—ultimately connected with *dladjectives and nouns-was further increased from some quite different sources. Thus Sanskrit preryate gives pellai 'to send forward, to throw' in J. M. etc., with the sound-change -ry->-llthat is found for instance in pallanka < paryanka 'a couch.' Another addition was Prakrit khellai (Amg., J. M. etc.) which has been explained 9 as a contamination between \sqrt{krid} and \sqrt{ksvel} , or perhaps from *ksveluati. There was also a number of deśī words, no doubt influenced in formation by the frequency of the nominal suffixes -illa, -alla, ulla: e.g. guñjellai, guñjullai, guñjollai (quoted usually as equivalents of ut-las-), phanillai, thanillai = corayati; dhumdhullai, dhumdhallai = bhramati; dallai = pibati and other words of non-Arvan or unknown origin listed in the Dhātvādeśas and occuring in Prakrit and more frequently in Apabhramsa. Some of these words survive into the modern vernaculars, such as Apabhramśa hallai 'to shake,' modern Hindi hālnā, Guj. hālvū,

Nep. halinnu, which group J. Bloch has derived from the Dravidian (BSOS, IV, 742).

One of the most interesting of the new formations is the verb 'to speak' in Apabhramsa. Sanskrit \(\nu vad \) and \(\nu vac \) 'to speak' seem to have almost coalesced in Prakrit, where they generally give vay- (M. JM. etc.). Some of the parts of the verb vac- however appear extremely irregular: they are the normal derivatives of the corresponding Sanskrit forms, partially assimilated to the rest of the conjugation of vay- in Prakrit. Thus we find a future vocchami, infinitive vottum, passive vucca-, past participle vutta. Nollei has an old past participle nuttam in Prakrit, surviving from √nud, as well as nollia: vuttam, vay- tended to be drawn into the new -ll- group on this same pattern and formed vollai which replaced the simple verb vay- in Apabhramsa. In the manuscripts of the earlier of the major Apabhramsa texts, the Paumacariu of Syavambhudeva and the works of Puspadanta the form vollai is the most usual one. In the later texts of the Digambaras and the later Švetāmbara Apabhramśa texts bollai is the more usual form, e.g. in the Karakandacariu of Kanakāmara and in Hemacandra's works, and this accounts for the modern verbs of the type of Hindi bolnā 'to speak.'

Exactly parallel to this word is the Apabhramśa verb vollai 'to walk.' This is derived from another vay- of Prakrit, from Sanskrit √vraj, which bore a certain amount of resemblance to vay- 'to speak' in Prakrit: e.g. it formed a type of passive vucca. It is clear that this verb simply followed the pattern of the verb 'to speak' in forming vollai. There are in Apabhramśa a number of similar cases of verbs in -ll- that cannot be connected to a Sanskrit root by any ordinary phonetic means. They are yet based on Sanskrit roots, altered on account of this analogical extension of -ll- verbs. In some cases the connection with the Sanskrit

root is not very evident and cannot be taken as proven. Thus \(\square\) muc forms in Prakrit mua, infinitive mottum past participle mutta (mukka is an alternative), which were sufficiently like nua < nud-, p. p. nutta and some of the other verbs cited above, for \(\square\) muc to be drawn into this group. One therefore finds a rare Apabhramsa word mullai 'to leave, to free.' This derivation however remains uncertain, as does the change from mullai to mellai, which is the usual Apabhramśa verb 'to leave,' cf. Gui. melvu. This last change might be due to the influence of pellai and some of the other verbs of this group, but this leaves a further variant millai to be accounted for. Very curious and less dubious is one further derivative of \sqrt{muc} . There was in Prakrit already a variant past participle mukka from *mukna, and this was in fact more usual than the etymological mutta < mutta in J. M. This past participle mukka 'left, released,' formed an adjective by means of the addition of the usual suffix -la, and we therefore find mukkala, mokkala, and mokkalla (cf. references to occurrences of these words in the Paiasaddamahannavo). From this adjective there was created a new verb mokkallai 'to release,' which is found in the Bhavisayattakahā and which survives in Marathi mokalnem and Guj. mokalvű.

More uncertain again is the connection between Sanskrit bhrams-, Prakrit bhamsai (with possible labialisation of a to u > bhumsai) 'to fall,' and Apabhramśa bhullai 'to fall.' It may well be a derivation of the type discussed here, and one argument in favor of this is the existence of an Apabhramsa adjective bhulla 'fallen,' which is the same in its relation to bhullai as solla is to sollei. olla to ollei etc. Uncertain also is the derivation of Apabhramsa rellai 'to flood,' relli 'a flood.' This is probably formed from \sqrt{ri} , Prakrit riyai by analogy with the numerous group chid- etc. discussed above. There are one or two tempting etymologies of equal uncertainty, among these one must note especially the verb vellai. This is recorded with several meanings in Prakrit:

- (1) vellai 'to shake'
- (2) vellai- 'to play,' 'to amuse oneself'
- (3) compound verbs uvvellai, uvvillai 'to shake,'
 'to move forward,' but also udvestate,
 just as samvellai is used as equivalent of
 samvestate (note also nivvellai, with
 similar meaning, quoted by Pischel).

There are two main theories to explain all these forms: (a) from a Sanskrit root vell-, found in epic and classical Sanskrit, and (b) Pischel's explanation which derives this group of words, as well as the nouns velli 'a climbing plant,' vella 'hair, distraction, amusement,' from vilna, past participle of a verb vil-, or from *vilvati, *vilyati, based on the same root.

It seems much more likely that here we have an example of the type of really widely extended analogy discussed above for the case of the Apabhramśa mellai, rellai. It is comparatively early, because the words of the group vell- are found in Māhārāstrī and in the Prakrits of the drama, not however in the earlier language of the Jain canon. They have thence been borrowed into Sanskrit which accounts for the epic and classical verb vellati.10 This Prakritic verb vell- belongs to a group of verbs that have been extended by means of suffixes already in Sanskrit: vij 'to be agitated' and vip 'to tremble,' vyath 'to be unsteady.' Which form of the verbs of this group was first of all responsible for bringing in the influence of the -ll- verbs remains uncertain. Vij- and vip-, vep- seem to have fallen together in J. M. and presumably also in the Prakrit of other regions (perhaps excluding Sauraseni), as the normal derivative of both in J. M. is via-, vea-. This form is probably the basis of the analogy. The change of vea- via- to vell- would thus appear to be parallel to the change of rivai to rellai noted above.11

The example of these -ll- verbs shows how the verbal stem went hand in hand with the nominal stems: we find the maximum number of -ll- verbs in Apabhramśa, precisely when the -illa, -ulla, -ulla, -ulla type of nominal and adjectival suffix was at its maximum extension. It is not a question of cause and effect, as only some of the -ll- verbs are directly derived from nouns or adjectives. It is simply that the suffixes in -ll-, both nominal and verbal, were popular in the spoken language particularly after the beginning of the Christian era, and were felt to be characteristic of Prakrit and

R. L. Turner, op. cit., s. v. Khelnu.

¹º For references to the earliest occurrences of this verb in Sanskrit cf. Böhtlingk and Roth's St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. vell.

¹¹ Some of the other words in this group, velli 'a creeper,' and vellita 'curly,' occuring in Pali, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Sanskrit may represent a contamination between the Prakritic root vell- and Sanskrit valli 'creeper.'

even more so of Apabhramáa. They were therefore extended more and more by analogical formation, especially in the case of roots whose simple form was phonetically extremely weak. This applies for instance in via-, vea- < vij-, mua- < mucand a number of the forms cited above. The frequency of all these formations in -ll- is one of the striking features of Digambara and Svetām-

bara Apabhramśa alike. This characteristic later became obscured by further phonetic development but the verbs in -ll- have still left their mark on the modern languages on account of the many verbs of this group that have survived, forming for instance many of the verbs in -lnā in modern Hindi.

QUELQUES ADVERBES PRONOMINAUX

DU

MOYEN INDIEN*

PAF

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

II. LES ADVERBES DE TEMPS

Rien de plus simple et de mieux ordonné, semble-t-il, que les adverbes de temps jab, tab, kab «quand», «alors», «quand?», de l'hindi moderne; pourtant l'évolution de ces mots est assez compliquée. Comme on l'a vu ailleurs, le moyen indien est beaucoup moins clair que le néo-aryen : il y a là une diversité de formes et d'usages qui s'explique en partie par la force du système pronominal, et par le jeu des influences analogiques entre les adverbes de temps et les autres dérivés pronominaux : adverbes de quantité — déjà usités en sanskrit pour exprimer l'idée de durée — adverbes de direction, etc. Malgré toutes ces possibilités d'explication, il reste des problèmes. Nous allons essayer ci-dessous d'en résoudre quelques-uns.

* JA, 1956, 3, p. 265.

Les dérivés des adverbes temporels du sanskrit se présentent en moven indien sous la forme suivante :

SANSKRIT	AMG., M. JAINA	ŚAURASENI	MĀHĀRĀŞŢRĪ	APABHRANSA
	The second second of	_		_
tadā	tadā, tayā	tadā	$ta(y)\bar{a}$, $tai(y)\bar{a}$	tai, taiyahum
yadā	jadā , jayā	jadā	$ja(y)\bar{a}$, $jai(y)\bar{a}$	jaï, jaïyahum
kadā	kadā , kayā	kadā	$l.a(y)\bar{a}$, $ka\ddot{a}(y)\bar{a}$	kaïyahum
idānīm	iyāņiņ	dāņiņ	enhim	evahim, ettie

Le vocalisme des variantes $ta\ddot{n}(y)\bar{a}$, etc., de la māhārāṣṭrī (dont il y a mème quelques evemples isolés dans les dialectes jainas) est assez surprenant. Ces variantes sont très fréquentes dans les textes quelque peu populaires, dans la poésie narrative (e. g. $L\bar{\imath}lava\bar{\imath}kah\bar{a}$) et dans la māhārāṣṭrī des gāthā lyriques, aussi sont-elles bien connues des grammairiens prakrits. Vararuci, qui décrit surtout la langue des gāthā lyriques dans la partie ancienne et authentique de son œuvre, comme l'a montré M^{me} Nitti-Dolci (1), dit dans sa règle $Pr\bar{a}krtaprak\bar{a}sa$. VI. 8: $\bar{a}he$ $i\bar{a}$ $k\bar{a}le$. Il permet donc $ta\bar{\imath}a$, $ja\bar{\imath}a$ et $ka\bar{\imath}a$ comme adverbes de temps. Cette règle a été retenue par les grammairiens plus tardifs, e. g. Hemacandra (III. 65 de sa grammaire prakrite, Siddhahemacandram, $adhy\bar{a}ya$ VIII) dit : ner $d\bar{a}he$ $d\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ $i\bar{a}$ $k\bar{a}le$. Il est donc d'accord avec Vararuci.

Les adverbes de temps $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., ne s'expliquent pas trop bien par les règles phonétiques : $tad\ddot{a}$, $ta(y)\ddot{a}$. etc., représentent l'évolution régulière de $tad\ddot{a}$, etc., en mähārāṣṭrī aussi bien que dans les autres dialectes du moyen indien. Pourtant les mots $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., ne sont pas isolés quant à leur vocalisme. Il y a d'autres adverbes de temps qui n'ont rien à faire avec le système pronominal proprement dit, et qui se terminent par $-d\ddot{a}$ en sanskrit : $ekad\ddot{a}$ « une fois », $sarvad\ddot{a}$ « toujours », $anyad\ddot{a}$ « une autre fois » et $sad\ddot{a}$ « toujours ». Rien à tirer des trois premiers : ces mots se présentent toujours sous la forme $ega(y)\ddot{a}$, $savva(y)\ddot{a}$, $anna(y)\ddot{a}$, en māhārāṣṭrī, comme dans les autres dialectes du moyen indien (śauraseni, $egad\ddot{a}$, etc.). Mais sanskrit $sad\ddot{a}$ « toujours », est très semblable à $tad\ddot{a}$, etc., quant à son évolution phonétique : on trouve $sad\ddot{a}$ en ardha-māgadhī, dans la māhāraṣṭrī jaina, dans la śauraseni des drames et la śauraseni jaina (e. g. dans le Mülācāra), mais

dans la māhārāṣṭri, on trouve surtout sai(n). Cette ressemblance entre $sad\bar{a}$ et $tad\bar{a}$, etc., n'a pas échappé aux grammairiens, qui ont formulé une règle curieuse à ce sujet : It $sad\bar{a}disu$ (Vararuci, $Pr\bar{a}krtaprak\bar{a}sa$ I. 11) = « dans les mots $sad\bar{a}$, etc., -i peut remplacer -ā». Il cite sai ou $sa\bar{a}$, $ta\bar{i}$ ou $ta\bar{a}$, $ja\bar{i}$ ou $ja\bar{a}$, pour sanskrit $sad\bar{a}$, $tad\bar{a}$, $yad\bar{a}$.

Pourtant la ressemblance entre les dérivés de sadā, «toujours» et les adverbes de temps du groupe tadā, etc., est loin d'être si complète. Saï «toujours» est très fréquent en māhārāṣṭrī, mais en apabhraṃśa on se sert presque exclusivement de sayā «toujours». Taï, jaï et kaï «alors», «quand» et «quand?» au contraire appartiennent surtout à l'apabhraṃśa plutôt qu'à la māhārāṣṭrī. Du reste, un mot saï(y)à «toujours» qui correspondrait à taï(y)ā, etc., n'existe pas, semble-t-il. Comment expliquer tout cela? On a soutenu plusieurs hypothèses:

1° L. Alsdorf (2) suggère que les mots apabhramés $ta\ddot{a}$ et $ka\ddot{a} < tad\bar{a}$, $kad\bar{a}$, «alors», «quand?» ont subi l'influence de $yad\bar{a}$ «quand», devenu $ja\ddot{a}$ par confusion avec $ja\ddot{a}$ «si» $< yad\dot{a}$. La syntaxe rend très probable cette explication: le sens conditionnel et le sens temporel étant si étroitement apparentés, on a bien pu dire $ja\ddot{a}$ «quand» parce qu'on disait $ja\ddot{a}$ «si». Après tout il y a des langues — y compris l'allemand — qui n'ont qu'un mot pour remplir les fonctions de «quand» et de «si». Mais cela n'explique pas pourquoi a) $sa\ddot{a}$ et b) $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, $ja\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, $ka\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, «alors», «quand», «quand?» paraissent dans les textes longtemps avant $ja\ddot{a}$ «quand», $ta\ddot{a}$ «alors» et $ka\ddot{a}$ «quand?». $Ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., en $m\bar{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{a}str\bar{a}$ restent donc sans explication.

2° M. C. Modi (5) croit que c'est kadā pi ou kadā ca « parfois », « à quelque temps que ce soit » qui a donné kaï(y)ā « quand ». On ne voit pas trop bien comment, si ce n'est par la métathèse (4) — d'ailleurs sans appui en moyen indien — du mot prakrit bien connu kayāi « parfois » (qui vient de kadā cit « parfois », et peut-être de kadā pi « à quelque temps que ce soit », mais non de kadā ca). M. C. Modi ne dit rien du côté sémantique de son étymologie. L'évolution du sens : « parfois », « à quelque temps que ce soit » > « quand ? » n'est pas évidente, et ces considérations achèvent de discréditer la théorie de M. Modi.

3° R. Pischel (5) croit que $ta\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$, $ja\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$ et $ka\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$ « alors », « quand » et « quand ? » viennent de *tayādā, *yayādā, *kayādā (même sens) par

voie de *tayidā, *yayidā et *kayidā. Les adverbes védiques kayā «comment» et ayā «ainsi» auraient servi de modèle à cette formation. *Tayādā > *tayidā et ses congénères seraient donc semblables aux adjectifs pronominaux de qualité pour lesquels Pischel propose une

base kayā + drś, etc.

Il faut retenir un fait important de l'explication de Pischel : il distingue nettement entre le cas de saï « sadā « toujours » et celui du groupe de mots $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$ «alors», etc. L'évolution $sa\ddot{a} < sad\tilde{a}$ en māhārāṣṭrī est possible par des voies phonétiques : selon Pischel sadā > sayā est d'abord devenu *saya, par l'abrègement de l'a final - comme il arrive souvent — chez les adverbes en -ā inaccentué, surtout en māhārāstrī. Quant à l'évolution *saya > saï, Pischel croit que c'est là un changement sporadique d'a post-tonique en -i. Les preuves qu'un tel changement ait vraiment eu lieu manquent en moyen indien. On pourrait à la rigueur y voir un exemple de «samprasarana » (6), mais c'est plus probablement une simple assimilation : $\check{a}y\bar{a}>\check{a}e$, lequel s'est alors différencié en ăi, trait caractéristique de la maharaștri qui se retrouve surtout dans la déclinaison des noms féminins (7) en $-\tilde{a}$: māhārāṣṭrī $m\bar{a}l\bar{a}i < m\bar{a}l\bar{a}ya < m\bar{a}l\bar{a}y\bar{a}h$ (abl. gén. sg.). Cette tendance phonétique a été appuyée par le fait qu'un grand nombre d'adverbes se terminent par -i en prakrit : e. g. uvari(m), pabhii(m), bahi(m), puvvi(m). Il faut donc admettre avec Pischel que saï < sadā « toujours » a une explication différente de celle du groupe d'adverbes $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$ « alors », etc. Mais l'hypothèse proposée pour ces derniers est loin d'être convaincante. Voici quelques faits qui la rendent douteuse :

- a) On sait depuis l'étude de Jacobi (8) sur la Bhavisattakahā que la māhārāstrī partage souvent des traits (9) qui caractérisent l'étape ultérieure du moyen indien, l'apabhramsa. Bien qu'il y ait des survivances vieil-indo-aryennes dans les régions où s'est formé l'apabhramsa littéraire — survivances qui n'existent pas dans les dialectes prakrits — les traits apabhramsa par excellence sont pour la plupart des innovations. Il semble bien que le groupe de mots $ta\ddot{i}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., soit un de ces traits.
- b) Pischel se sert du védique ayā, kayā pour expliquer le vocalisme $a\ddot{a}$ de māhārāṣṭrī $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., aussi bien que l'e simple de māhārāṣṭrī

kerisa « de quel aspect », et d'erisa « de tel aspect ». Mais pourquoi ne trouve-t-on pas kairisa à côté de kerisa et $kc(y)\bar{a}$ à côté de $k\bar{a}i(y)\bar{a}$?

c) On a déjà soulevé des doutes quant à plusieurs autres étymologies proposées par Pischel, qui ont pour base le védique kayā ou ayā: S. K. Chatterji (10) a montré il y a longtemps que l'adjectif de quantité ettiya ne vient pas d'*ayatya, et Wackernagel (11) lui donne raison. L'on serait donc tenté de proposer une autre explication que celle de Pischel pour les dérivés pronominaux qui commencent par e-, ke- et de considérer s'il reste en moyen indien la moindre trace des mots védiques kayā et ayā.

Les pronoms du sanskrit avaient tous plusieurs cas en e-+ désinence, tels que le génitif pluriel du masculin, eşām, teṣām, eteṣām, yesām, kesām. Quelques-unes de ces formes ont survécu en moven indien : l'ardha-magadhi et la plupart des dialectes littéraires plus tardiss emploient esu, tesu, ehim, etc. La présence d'un e n'était donc pas sans appui dans le système pronominal du moyen indien. Mais chez un de ces pronoms un e faisait partie du thème pronominal même, il parut donc à tous les cas. Ce pronom était etad, devenu e(y)am, nom. sg. masc. eso, fém. esā, acc. sg. e(y)am, fém. e(y)am, instrumental masc. eena, eina, etc., en mähärästri jaina. Ce pronom démonstratif de l'objet éloigné avait une forte tendance à se confondre en moyen indien avec les dérivés du pronom démonstratif de l'objet rapproché, sanskrit ayam, idam, iyam. On trouve par exemple dans les inscriptions du roi Aśoka à Kālsi et à Jaugada eyam, qui représente probablement une confusion entre iyam et etad (12); pour les formes du locatif iammi, aammi il y a désaccord entre les grammairiens prakrits et Pischel s'il faut les classer comme dérivés d'etad ou d'ayam. Les dialectes prakrits ont réagi contre tant de confusion. On a favorisé parfois un thème à redoublement consonantique pour etad, d'où etto (13) (abl. sg. masc.), etc., mais l'ancienne déclinaison à thème e(y)a, nom. sg. eso est restée tout de même. C'est plutôt le pronom ayam, idam, iyam qui a dû céder dans la confusion homonymique; on a généralisé le thème ima- en moyen indien (14): le thème ima- a pénétré dans tous les cas en prakrit et en pali, à l'exception du nominatif singulier du masculin en pali. Le thème a- de ce pronom avait presque disparu (15) en pra-

krit, et ce qui restait en moyen indien des autres parties de l'ancienne flexion du pronom démonstratif de l'objet rapproché, e. g. le locatif pluriel esu (māhārāstrī jaina), esim (māhārāstrī), l'instrumental du singulier ena (māhārāṣṭrī) ne ressemblait que trop aux formes correspondantes de l'ancienne flexion d'etad : loc. pl. eesu, instr. sg. masc. cena (māhārāṣṭrī). Tout isolées qu'elles étaient du reste de la flexion de ce pronom, (i. e. ima-) ces formes esu, ena, etc., étaient bien aptes à donner l'idée d'un pronom e-; les dérivés d'etad étaient portés à faire la même impression. Il y avait en outre l'adverbe très fréquent sanskrit eram > prakrit era(m) «ainsi», qui laissait deviner un même thème pronominal e-, probablement par l'analyse inconsciente de la part des parlants : tava : thème ta-, jāva : thème ja-, .. eva(m) : thème e-.

Quelques-uns des mots qu'on essayait d'éclaireir jusqu'ici par le védique aya (selon Pischel) (16) ou par la syncope de la deuxième syllabe du mot era(m) « ainsi » (selon Hoernle) (17) s'expliquent avec plus de vraisemblance comme des dérivés de ce nouveau « pronom » e-. Plusieurs d'entre ces mots paraissent déjà dans les parties les plus archaïques du canon jaina : emahālaya, fem. emahāliya «d'une telle grandeur, esuhuma «si fin», emahiddhiya «si riche», eradda «si grand » (-radda est ramené à sanscrit vrddha « ce qui a crû, ce qui est grand », dans tous les livres qui font autorité, e. g. Вьосн, L'Indo-aryen, p. 204). Une forme primitive en ayā- semble impossible pour ces mots qui ont l'air très moderne. Le deuxième élément est évidemment de formation prakritique dans le cas d'eradda et d'emahālaya (suffixe prakritique), ce qui rend très probable que le premier élément est lui aussi d'origine moyen-indienne et que c'est donc le thème pronominal equi s'est si largement étendu en moven indien, plutôt que l'ancien ayā-, moribond des le Rgveda. Les adjectifs pronominaux tevada, jerada «si grand», «combien grand (relatif)» dont se sert Hemacandra, Kumārapālacarita VIII. 54, *ke-raddhaya «combien grand» qui devait donner le marathe kerdhā, de même qu'une foule d'autres qu'on trouve déjà en māhārāṣṭrī jaina : kemahālaya « de quelle grandeur? », kemahiddhiya «combien riche?», etc., ont été créés sous l'influence analogique des mots correspondants composés à l'aide du thème e-.

La théorie de Pischel sur pkt. erisa «de tel aspect», et kerisa «de

quel aspect? n est elle aussi absolument invraisemblable, comme vient de l'indiquer M. Edgerton (18): «Pischel \$ 121 has a highly implausible explanation of e-, Geiger (19) \$ 11 a less implausible one n. Au lieu de supposer des formes primitives *ayādrś, *kayādrś comme le fait Pischel, il vaudrait mieux prendre pour base le sanskrit īdrś « de tel aspect », kīdrś « de quel aspect? » comme l'avait déjà fait Geiger. Idrś a donné īrisa (20) (qu'on trouve dans la sauraseni des drames), mais dans la plupart des parlers moyen-indiens on emploie des formes en e- : edisa (Aśoka : Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā); prakrit de Niya, etrisa; ardhamagadhī, māhārāṣṭrī jaina, māhārāṣṭrī, parfois même śauraseni erisa, kerisa. Le changement de l'ī- d'īdrśa en e-(21) est probablement dù à l'influence de ce même thème pronominal e-, et alors kerisa a pris la place de kīrisa, etc., sous l'influence analogique du mot erisa. Par la force du système cette série de mots s'est étendue en moyen indien, et c'est donc là qu'il faut chercher l'origine des adjectifs teddaha, eddaha «de tel aspect», etc., cités par Vararuci IV. 25 (le consonantisme de ces mots reste difficile à expliquer). Faire remonter au védique des formes d'aspect aussi moderne qu'eddaha semble aussi impossible que dans le cas d'emahālaya, etc., cité plus haut. Il faut probablement ranger sous la même rubrique des mots comme evaïya «tant» (ardha-māgadhī, qui vient d'iyat: *iyatika \(\neq e \) pronominal et \(\neq evam > evaïya \), d'où le composé ardha-māgadhī evaï-khutto (22) «tant de fois», et kevaïya «combien», peut-être faudrait-il y ajouter kecciram et kevacciram « depuis quand », bien que ces derniers soient plus douteux. L'histoire de l'extension de l'e- du « pronom » démonstratif est assez longue : les langues modernes en sont encore témoin : e. g. awadhi moderne etan, jetan, etc., adjectifs de quantité, bengali moderne eta, eto, etc. Cette extension de l'e- s'explique peut-être par le fait que le thème «pronominal» de l'objet rapproché, e-, appuyé qu'il était par l'adverbe eva(m) « ainsi » s'employait avec un sens beaucoup plus énergique que les pronoms qui exprimaient l'éloignement, l'interrogation, etc. En fin de compte il est clair que la théorie védique de Pischel est à rejeter pour tous les mots qu'on vient de passer en revue.

Il serait donc vain de chercher des origines lointaines pour les variantes $ta\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$ «alors», $ja\ddot{a}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., de la māhārāṣṭrī. Comme la

plupart des dérivés pronominaux elles s'éclaircissent mieux à la lumière des résections du système pronominal en moyen indien. Il semble bien que ce soient les adverbes de nombre kaï « kati, taï « tati, jaï « yati : «combien? », «tant », «combien » qui ont servi de modèle. Les textes moyen-indiens démontrent nettement que kaï « kati était bien vivant et appuyé par des composés : kaïi « katicit « quelque, quelqu'un », kaïtha (en māhārāṣṭrī jaina) « combien de fois? n, kaïvaya, kaivaiya < katipaya; kaïvāha, cf. pali katipātha; kaïviha « katividha « de combien d'espèces ». ()n trouve même en māhārāstrī jaina et en māhārāstrī un adjectif kaïya (formé sans doute sur kaïi-katicit à l'aide du suffixe «svārthe»-ka) qui se présente surtout dans des locutions à sens temporel : e. g. kaïesu dinesu « dans quelques jours », Paümacariya 34.27, cité par le Paiasaddamahannavvo; kaihim dinehim parinaviu deviu Nanda-Sunandāiu « en quelques jours il épousa les reines Nandā et Sunandā et d'autres, dans le Paümacarin de Svayambhudeva, II.8, 7. l'expression était donc encore bien vivante en apabhraméa. C'est probablement en partant de cet adjectif kaïa au sens temporel et de kaïttha « combien de fois » que s'est étendue l'analogie qui a changé kayā « quand » en $ka\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$ en māhārāṣṭrī, d'où aussi $ta\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$ « alors » et $ja\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$ « quand ». Il y a quelques autres mots qui sont venus à l'appui de cette réfection analogique — il y a d'abord l'adjectif prakrit kaïma skr. katama «quel» (cf. sanskrit bouddhique katima, pali katima); skr. -ama est devenu -ima dans ce mot par la substitution des suffixes (23) (cf. carama «le dernier» devenu carima en moyen indien). Il y avait aussi probablement un mot moyen indien *kaïra « quel » skr. katara, sanskrit bouddhique katira. Il ne faut pas oublier l'influence des adjectifs pronominaux qu'on vient de citer plus haut, et qui se terminent par -aiya, e. g. kevaïya dans la formule fréquente de la langue canonique kevaïyam kālam « pour combien de temps ». Le vocalisme de la série $ta\ddot{\imath}(y)\ddot{a}$ «alors» de la māhārāṣṭrī, plus distinctif que celui des autres dialectes, $-a(y)\bar{a}$ — qui se prétait à pas mal de confusions avait donc toutes les chances de survivre et de saire souche (24) en moven indien.

On retrouve les variantes $ta\ddot{u}(y)\ddot{a}$, etc., de la māhārāṣṭrī en apabhraṃśa, mais on y a ajouté des désinences, surtout celles du génitif pluriel. C'est ainsi qu'on trouve dans le *Paümacariu* de

Svayambhudeva taïyahum, taïyaho « alors », à côté du simple jaïu « quand »; or la désinence du génitif pluriel des noms en -a dans ce texte est souvent -hum. Il en est de même dans les textes de la grande époque de l'apabhraméa des digambaras, surtout dans les œuvres de Puspadanta : les adverbes de temps s'y terminent presque toujours par -hum, bien que -hum, désinence du génitif pluriel, y soit déjà moins usuel que chez Svayambhudeva. La Bhavisattakahā se sert de taïyaham « alors », kaïyaham « quand? »; le génitif pluriel des noms en -a y est caractérisé par la désinence -ham. Il y a quelques formes aberrantes où l'on peut voir l'influence du locatif singulier du pronom démonstratif de l'objet éloigné, tahim, devenu adverbe de lieu = « là », parfois « alors » : taiyahim dans le Kumārapālapratibhoda de Somaprabha. On s'est servi aussi des formes courtes (25) jaïya, etc., en apabhraméa, mais parfois elles ont perdu la voyelle finale sous l'influence de l'ana-

logie de jai < yadi «si», indiquée par Alsdorf.

L'apabhramsa tardif nous laisse déjà entrevoir le développement ultérieur des adverbes de temps dans les langues néo-aryennes. Parfois l'adverbe de temps y est associé au nom kāle «à ce temps» e. g. Sandesarāsaka: jaiya kāli "quand". Ce sont probablement ces composés qui nous ont donné les adverbes de temps en kasmiri teli, yeli, etc., « alors », « quand », qu'on trouve dès les textes anciens du kaśmiri (Lallā-vākyāni), et peut être aussi les adverbes du nepalī, kaile ou kailhe, taile, etc., mais cette étymologie reste douteuse, car la présence d'une h (cf. la forme ancienne tahile) donne de l'appui à l'étymologie de Turner (26) : tailhe < *tahialaï < tasmin kāle. Les terminaisons ajoutées aux adverbes de temps en apabhramsa semblent avoir disparu complètement dans l'évolution vers les langues modernes, quand la langue populaire commençait à se servir de plus en plus de post-positions au lieu de désinences : le Sandesarāsaka a donc kaïyalaggi «depuis quand?» (v. 122). La série taï(y)ā, etc., a probablement survécu dans plusieurs langues néo-aryennes : bengali jāi, tāi "quand", "alors"; S. R. Chatterji suggère pourtant une autre explication pour ces mots: skr. $yad\bar{a} + hi$, $tad\bar{a} + hi$. Les mots marathes taim, kaim, jaim «alors», «quand?», «quand», remontent sans doute à taï(y)ā, etc.

Somme toute les langues néo-aryennes semblent avoir préféré

ccxiv-3.

d'autres expressions pour exprimer le temps : on se sert largement des dérivés de tavat (27), d'abord adverbe de durée temporelle. Parsois ce sont les adverbes de manière qui ont pris une nuance temporelle: c'est ainsi qu'on peut rendre compte du marathe evham < apabhraméa emrahim < era + him (-him vient de tahim, comme dans le cas de taïyahim, vide supra). Ce mot apabhramsa paraît déjà chez Svayambhudeva au sens de «maintenant». Même là où les adverbes de manière n'ont pas survécu tels quels comme adverbes de temps, ils ont exercé une influence profonde sur le développement des adverbes de temps dérivés de tāvat, etc. C'est ainsi qu'on explique couramment (28) le phonétisme difficile de tab, etc., de l'hindi moderne, et des adverbes en -be du bengali moderne. Ces réfections — elles ont toutes pour base les thèmes pronominaux — ont resserré les liens qui unissaient le système pronominal : il y reste des débris du système māhārāstrī et apabhramsa (e. g. bengali jāi), témoins de la continuité de l'évolution indo-arvenne. Mais c'est le système même des dérivés pronominaux, refait et perfectionné en néo-aryen, qui est le témoin le plus fidèle de cette continuité.

Note sur tāvat.

On rencontre assez souvent dans les études sur le moyen indien et surtout dans les glossaires des textes une théorie selon laquelle les mots tārat, yāvat, adverbes de durée temporelle en sanskrit, auraient donné deux séries de dérivés dans les dialectes prakrits : 1° en position accentuée ces mots seraient restés comme java, tava, mais 2° en position inaccentuée ils seraient devenus jā, tā. C'est Vararuci qui semble avoir été le promoteur de cette théorie (Prākṛtaprakāśa IV.5): Yāvadādisu vasya « il peut y avoir élision de va dans les mots yāvat, etc. » Pischel op. cit., \$ 425 a déjà vu qu'on avait fait fausse route en acceptant sans hésitation une telle hypothèse, et pourtant l'erreur persiste. Pischel propose de nouveau une étymologie védique : tā et jā seraient des dérivés de tat "ainsi" et de yat "pendant que, d'autant que " (cf. aussi l'adverbe sanskrit āt « alors »). Bien que tāt et yāt ne se présentent plus tels quels en sanskrit, ils étaient à la base de nombreux mots composés, et on avait encore le sentiment que c'étaient des ablatifs de pronoms (ya- et ta-). En prakrit on a créé de nouveau des

adverbes jā, tā, qui correspondaient aux ablatifs prakrits du type puttā, nom. sg. putta. Jā et tā comme adverbes de l'ablatif ont presque toujours une signification consécutive : le sens ne correspond pas à celui des adverbes védiques que cite Pischel, sens figé qui n'a pu vivre en sanskrit et moins encore en prakrit, et il ne correspond pas non plus au sens des adverbes yāvat et tāvat. Tā se présente très souvent au commencement d'un discours dans les drames e.g. Mālavikāgnimitra III: tā jāva pamada-vaņa-pāliam... annesāmi, «je vais donc suivre la gardienne du jardin... » Dans ces cas-là, tā est souvent suivi de jāva, qui donne le sens temporel, et les «chäyās» rendent tā par l'ablatif sanskrit lasmāt. Même là où jā et tā se présentent seuls, toute nuance temporelle qu'on pourrait y sentir est celle d'un ablatif et non d'un adverbe de durée : tā peut donc signifier «après cela». Il ressort du témoignage des textes moyen-indiens que ta et ja ne sont pas des dérivés de yavat, tavat, adverbes de durée, ni strictement des adverbes védiques yat et tat. Ils représentent plutôt des formations nouvelles qui ont pour base une forme prakritique de l'ablatif pronominal tat, yāt (au lieu du sanskrit tasmāt, yasmāt) d'après l'analogie de la déclinaison des noms masculins en -a.

NOTES

(1) L. NITTI-DOLGI, Les Grammairiens prakrits, Paris, 1938.

(1) L. Alsborf, Harivamsapurāna, Hamburg, 1934. Glossaire, s. v. tai.

(3) B. K. THAKORE, M. D. DESAI and M. C. Modi, Gurjararāsāvali, Gaekwad's Orien-

tal Series, No. CXVIII, Baroda, 1956. Glossaire, s. v. kaiya.

(4) La métathèse n'a joué un rôle que dans l'évolution de mots très différents de kaïya, cela ressort de toutes les études sur la métathèse, depuis J. Beanes, Comparative Grammar of the Arian Languages, I, Londres, 1872, p. 276, jusqu'à P. Thieme, «Merkwürdige indische Worte», in KZ, 67, 1942, p. 185. Cf. aussi le témoignage de J. Blocu qui dit : «En dehors de l'aspiration et des continues, la métathèse semble tout à fait raren (L'Indo-aryen, p. 167.)

(5) R. PISCHEL, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strasbourg, 1900, \$ 113 et 121. (6) Le problème du changement de semi-voyelle + voyelle en voyelle simple, dit samprasarana, va être étudié en détail dans un article de M. N. K. Norman de Cam-

bridge, qui a bien voulu me communiquer quelques-unes de ses idées.

(7) JRAS, 1956, p. 183.

(8) H. JACOBI, Bhavisattakaha des Dhanapala, Munich, 1918.

(9) L'article de M. N. S. Ghoshal, la dernière en date des études nombreuses sur ce problème ne m'a pas encore été accessible. M. N. S. Gнознац, «Араbhramsa and post-apabhramsa features in the early prakrits, in Indian Ilistorical Quarterly, XXX,

(10) S. K. CHATTERJI, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, p. 858. Pour les adverbes de lieu voir JA, 1956, 3.

(11) J. WACKERNAGEL, "Indo-Iranica", in KZ, 67, 1942, p. 156.

(12) S. Sen. "Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Arvan", in Indian Linguistics, Vol. XII, p. 82. Calcutta, 1951.

(13) Cf. JA, 1956, 3, pour les adverbes de lieu dérivés de ce thème.

(14) Cf. entre autres F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, New Haven,

1953, \$ 21, 49.

(15) J. Bloch a déjà montré (op. cit., p. 148) qu'à un état antérieur du moyen indien le thème a- était encore bien vivant, ce qui explique l'extension de la forme ayam au féminin chez Asoka et en pali. Le thème a- a aussi exercé une influence sur les pronoms relatifs chez Asoka, cf. J. Vekerdi, Acta Orientalia, III, 1953, p. 324.

(16) R. PISCHEL (op. cit.), \$ 149.

(17) A. F. Hoennle, Uvāsagadasāo, Calcutta, 1890. Glossaire, s. v. emahālaya.

(18) F. EDGERTON, Buddhist Hubrid Sanshrit Dictionary, New Haven, 1953, s. v.

(19) W. Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache, Strasbourg, 1916.

(20) Pour la théorie la plus récente sur l'r, cf. II. Bengen, Zwei Probleme der mittel-

indischen Lautlehre, Munich, 1955, p. 43.

(21) L'explication phonétique proposée par Geiger pour erisa est à rejeter comme elle n'est pas d'accord avec les tendances phonétiques du moyen indien : 7 long ne peut pas devenir e.

(22) Cf. la formule : evaïyā me avarāhā, evaïkhutto aham avaraddho = atel est le

nombre de mes péchés, j'ai péché tant de fois, Vavahara, I.

(23) On a beaucoup écrit sur cette série de mots en -ima : e. g. Kuhn, KZ, 35, p. 5; GRIGER, op. cit., \$ 19, 1; PISCHEL, op. cit., \$ 101; JACOBI, KZ, 54, p. 572; EDGERTON,

op. cit., \$ 22, 16; H. Berger, op. cit., p. 32.

(24) On serait tenté de proposer la théorie hasardeuse que la série taï(y)ā, etc., aurait été pour quelque chose dans l'évolution des adjectifs de qualité, taïsa, etc., qu'on trouve en apabhramsa surtout dans les œuvres d'Uddyotanasûri : cf. les adjectifs de qualité de l'hindi moderne taisa «tel» etc., L'explication par les formes difficiles de la sauraseni, tādisa (pour tārisa) > taisa, n'est pas tout à fait convaincante.

(25) Il se peut que les adverbes à désinence aient d'abord exprimé des nuances de sens, e. g. kaiyahum "depuis quand" etc., et que ces rassinements de sens se soient peu à peu obscurcis, comme il arrive souvent chez les adverbes e. g. fr. «dedans»

< de + de + intus.

(26) R. L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary, London, 1934, s. v., taile.

(27) Cf. note supplémentaire sur tavat.

(28) S. K. CHATTERJI, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, \$ 600; cf. aussi R. L. Turner, op. cit., s. v. aba.

PRAKRIT THAKKA, "TIRED"

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'There is a certain exuberance which will not rest contented with traditional expressions, but finds amusement in the creation and propagation of new words and in attaching new meanings to old words', states Professor Jespersen¹ in discussion of vulgarisms and slang. From the reading of some philological works it would appear as if the speakers of Prakrit and Apabhramsa had been singularly devoid of this natural creative exuberance. Middle Indo-Arvan first became known to modern philologists in the form of the more stereotyped literary dialects, particularly those of the drama, and there has been a resultant tendency to derive the entire vocabulary either from exact Sanskrit or Vedic prototypes (attested or hypothetical), or as a borrowing from the non-Aryan languages of India. It is mainly the work of J. Bloch and R. L. Turner that has shown how many new and vital words were coined in the Middle Indo-Aryan period and have survived into the modern Aryan languages of India. The etymology of Prakrit and Apabhramsa thakka 'tired', 'stationary' and thakkai 'to be tired', 'to stop' is a case in point.

The older type of explanation is presented by R. Pischel, who derives thakkai from a hypothetical Sanskrit *sthakyati. He is followed in this by Tessitori,3 Modi4 and others. G. V. Tagare5 gives a similar etymology, I.E. *stag-ne as the origin of the adjective thakka 'tired'.

On the other hand, J. Bloch and Professor Turner do not reconstruct a hypothetical Sanskrit or earlier original, but suggest that the word was formed in Prakrit itself from the root sthâ- 'to stand', by means of a suffix

2. R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen. Strassburg 1900. § 488.

4. M. C. Modi, Gurjârarâsâvali. Baroda 1956. Glossary s.v. thâkî.

6. J. Bloch, La Formation de la Langue Marathe, Paris 1920. §94.

^{1.} O. JESPERSEN, Language its Nature, Development and Origin. London 1922. p. 298.

^{3.} L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani". Indian Antiquary 1914-1916. § 72.

^{5.} G. V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhraméa. Poona 1948. Glossary s.v. thakka.

^{7.} R. L. TURNER, Dictionary of the Nepali Language. London 1931. s.v. thâknu.

containing -kk. This article is an attempt to justify the latter view by a comparison of some of the other words in -kka found in Prakrit, of which there are a considerable number: past participles, verbs, nouns and adjectives.

I. Past Participles in -kka.

The past participle in Sanskrit ends in (a) -ta, (b) ita (c) -na (the latter form is mainly peculiar to roots with a final \hat{i} , \hat{r} , d and j), but the verb pac- 'to cook' has the isolated past participle pakva 'cooked'. The first group (a), though the most important in Sanskrit has become less in Prakrit. The regular phonetic development, notably the assimilation of the final consonant of the root to the t- of the ending, has obscured the connection of these past participles with the rest of the verb. In Prakrit therefore it became more and more usual to form the past participle as in (b) by the addition of -i(t)a to the verb, generally to the present stem. Pischel⁸ thinks that the third group (c) of past participles was also extended in the popular language even before the formation of the Prakrit dialects, and that there was for instance a Sanskrit past participle *mukna from the root muc- 'to release', side by side with the normal Sanskrit mukta 'released'. This, Pis-CHEL believes, accounts for the Prakrit past participle mukka 'released', which is more frequent than mutta < mukta. There are some clear extensions of the use of the ending -na, such as dinna 'given' for datta from the root dâ- 'to give', but the bulk of the examples given by PISCHEL fall into two categories: 1) past participles in -lla, which are due to an extended use of the Prakrit suffix -lla,9 and are not derived, as Pischel supposed, from popular Sanskrit forms in *-dna and *-lna; (2) past participles in -kka, which are mainly associated with roots in -c and -ś, and for which Pischel presumes a Sanskrit final *-kna: here a derivation parallel to that of the -lla past participles is more probable, and it seems unlikely for instance that there existed before the Prakrit period a hypothetical form *mukna from \(\square\) muc- 'to release'. In some of these cases it is almost impossible to reconstruct a plausible Sanskrit prototype: damś- 'to bite' could only have given a past participle *daśna if we were really dealing with a mere extension of the -na ending of the past participle, and yet PISCHEL is forced to reconstruct a form *dakna 'bitten', to explain the Prakrit dakka. Here even those who believe in a general extension of the ending -na admit instead an introduction of the suffix -kka in Prakrit.10

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There are some past participles in -kka in Prakrit which show the normal phonetic development of the corresponding Sanskrit forms, without the necessity for assuming an extension of the -na ending. Pac- 'to cook' has in Sanskrit the past participle pakva, which becomes in Prakrit pakka; Sanskrit $vra\acute{s}c$ - 'to cut' has a past participle vrkna which becomes Prakrit vukka (there is a doubtful occurrence of this word in Hâla v. 465, but it is definitely attested in Jaina Mâhârâŝtrî). The Sanskrit adjective $\acute{s}u\^{s}ka$ 'dry' generally became sukka in the Prakrit dialects. This was associated with $\sqrt{s}u\^{s}$ —'to dry' and was similar in appearance to the above-cited past participles. Another adjective that came to be regarded as a past participle was $\acute{s}akya$ 'possible', Prakrit sakka. Sakka took over some of the functions of $satta < \acute{s}akta$ 'capable', past participle of the verb $\acute{s}ak$ - 'to be able,' and appears in Jaina Mâhârâŝtrî in the meaning of 'capable'. Sakka is in fact listed as equivalent to the past participle satta by Hemacandra VIII.II.2.

From the use of these forms in -kka there arose gradually the notion that -kka was an ending of the past participle and it was therefore liable to analogical extension in Prakrit. The analogy is most likely to have started among verbs whose roots ended in -c. These verbs remained as a fairly compact group: in cases where the c was intervocalic in the present indicative and should therefore have fallen, it was generally preserved e.g. pacai < pacati, and in Apabhramsa, it was even doubled under the influence of the fourth conjugational class and of the passive e.g. russai 'to please'. The extension of the -kka past participle was probably facilitated by the fact that these verbs already had a velar sound in the future and also had derivatives formed with a -k-. Mukka from \muc-'to release' is one of the most widespread of the past participles in -kka and was probably favoured by the confusions that beset the correctly developed mutta < mutta < mûtra and mûrta). Mukka is formed from muncai (var. muai) by analogy with pakka from pacai. Similarly luncai formed a past participle lukka, sincai formed sikka, and rincai rikka, while the participle lukka from the verb mluc-12 'to go to rest' is somewhat more doubtful. These verbs maintained their association with the verb pac- 'to cook', past participle pakka, which had influenced them: there is in Prakrit a variant past participle pikka 'cooked from pakka + sikka and rikka.

Like the Sanskrit verbs in -c those in Sanskrit s and -s remained as a compact group in Prakrit: they too formed their future with a velar con-

^{8.} R. PISCHEL, op. cit. § 566.

^{9.} JAOS 1957.

^{10.} P. THIEME, "Merkwürdige indische Worte", K.Z. 67. p. 195. Göttingen 1942.

^{11.} J. J. MEYER, Hindu Tales. London 1909, p. 68.

^{12.} J. J. MEYER, op. cit. p. 259. note 2. lukka,

sonant. Possibly under the combined influence of the verbs in -c and of $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to dry' (which had the apparent past participle Pkt. $\pm sukka < \pm u\hat{s}ka$ 'dry') the past participle in $\pm kka$ penetrated into this group. Thus apart from $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to dry', future $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to rakrit $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to to ry', future $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to rakrit $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to ry', future $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to ry', future $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to the 'future $\pm u\hat{s}$ - 'to the 'future

Some of the other examples that one might quote for the analogical extension of the -kka past participle are much more uncertain. Vokka, which appears in Apabhramśa as the second member of compounds with the meaning of 'speaking' might well come from vac- 'to speak' which has in Prakrit a future vokkhai. Sakka 'moved' is attributed by Pischel to a prototype śvaŝkna, while the Dhâtvâdeśas render it by \sqrt{sarp} - 'to creep' with which it might be associated. Still more dubious in its derivation is the word cikka 'touched'. Even if one leaves aside these doubtful cases the past participle in -kka appears as a well-established element in Prakrit morphology.

II. Verbs in -kka-

The past participles in -kka are remarkably similar in their formation to those in -lla. Both these types of past participles often gave rise to new verbs, and hence even new past participles in -i(t)a. This latter development is more a feature of Apabhramsa than of Prakrit, e.g. mukka 'released' in Apabhramśa forms a new verb mukkai 'to release' and a past participle mukkia. The suffix -kka thus came to be regarded as a usual element in the formation of verbs and this was a very active principle in the modern vernaculars and has given rise to a number of verbs, as can be seen at a glance from Professor Turner's Dictionary. The similarity with the extension of the -lla suffix is striking and sometimes the same roots were affected: e.g.\/muc- 'to release', Apabhramsa mellai and mukkai 'to release'; vac-'to speak', vollai and vokkai 'to speak', 'to call'. From the roots in -c, and -ś. -ŝ. the suffix was extended among verbs of entirely different nature by the time of the modern vernaculars. This accounts for instance for the modern Hindi roknâ 'to hinder' from Sanskrit \(\sqrt{rudh}, \text{ Prakrit rundhai}, \) rumbhai.

The analogical extension among verbs with roots in -c, $-\pm$ and \pm is however not the only source of -kk- verbs in Prakrit. In Sanskrit there is

a group of words, mainly onomatopoeic in origin and formed with the verb kr- 'to make': e.g. pûtkâra 'puffing', thûtkâra 'spitting', camatkâra 'astonishment'. From these were derived Prakrit verbs of the type¹³ pukkarei 'to call out' with the past participle pukkia < pûtkrta. This kind of past participle led to the formation of new verbs pukkai etc. and the association with \/kr- 'to make' was lost entirely. Examples are frequent in Apabhramśa where we find for instance ihalakkia 'burnt', tadakkia 'startled' jhulukkiya 'scorched' (the last two are attested in the Bhavisattakahâ). The frequency of such verbs strengthened the conception of -kka- as a suffix used in verb formation. There is one important verb that is similar in development to this group. This is Sanskrit $vi + kr\hat{i}$ 'to sell'. The normal Prakrit present tense of this verb was vikkinei, but the infinitive vikkeum and the past participle vikkia led to the creation of a new present vikkei 'to sell'. Under the influence of those verbs where a radical in -kk- coexisted with a radical in -c-, -cc-, 14 such as pac-, munc- and sinc-, there was formed a new type of present viccei, veccei 'to sell'. This is the prototype of the modern Hindi becnû 'to sell'. There was ultimately a complete differentiation of meaning between the two radicals of this verb: vikkei, based as it was on the old past participle passive of vi+kri, was specialised in the meaning of 'to be up for sale', 'to be sold', whence modern Hindi biknû and its congeners, while viccei, veccei remained as 'to sell', Hindi becnâ.

III. Nouns and Adjectives in -kka

The suffix -kka was not only extended in Prakrit among past participles and verbs, but also among adjectives and nouns. As in the other cases, it was abstracted as a suffix from a number of Prakrit words that happened to end in -kka. This -kka sometimes simply represents the development of the Sanskrit suffix 'svârthe' -ka after a consonantal base. Examples of this are: Sanskrit catuŝka 'a square', Prakrit caukka, chakka from Sanskrit ŝatka 'a group of six', and perhaps nakka 'nose', which may come from Sanskrit nas + ka, but might also be an example of the addition of the suffix -kka at the Prakrit stage. In some cases Prakrit -kka came from Sanskrit -kya. This is certainly the explanation of Prakrit pârakka 'alien' from Sanskrit pârakya, thokka 'little' from stokya, mânikka from mânikya 'ruby'. Three masculine nouns designating persons may belong to this group: they are Prakrit râikka 'associate of a king', nâikka 'important personage', and

^{13.} It has unfortunately been impossible for me to gain access to Professor F. EDGERTON'S work on the Ardha-Mâgadhî and Jain Mâhârâ§trî verbs hakkai, hak-kûrai in Indian Studies dedicated to C. R. LANMAN, p. 29.

^{14.} i.e. in Apabhramsa. vide supra.

pâikka15 'servant'. These words come from *râjikya, *nâyikya, and perhaps *padâtikya, based on râjâ, nâyaka, and padâti respectively. The majority of the instances where -kka is derived from Sanskrit -kya may be explained as adjectives with the suffix -ya formed from nouns in -ka in Sanskrit. These adjectives then often became nouns, as for instance trailokya > Prakrit telokka, which originally meant 'associated with the three worlds', hence 'the three worlds' already in Sanskrit. Similar in development must be *gonikua 'associated with cows' > Prakrit gonikka 'a herd of cattle' (quoted in the Deśînâmamâlâ) and probably also Prakrit mahisikka 'a herd of buffalo' (ibid.). A doubtful example of Prakrit -kka from -kya is *śatakyâ 'used for chariots' > *satakka modern Hindi sarak16 'road' from *śataka, by metathesis from śakata 'a chariot'. From the numerous occurrences of -kka, whether from consonant + -ka or from -kya there was abstracted the new Prakrit suffix -kka, which had the advantage over the 'svarthe' -ka of being more distinctive: -ka had lost its initial -k- when added to a word ending in a vowel.

The substitution of this new suffix for the older and less expressive 'svârthe' -ka accounts for a number of words that were listed by the Prakrit grammarians and the modern grammars following on them as showing irregular doubling of the consonant -k-. Examples are mâukka from Sanskrit mrduka 'soft' (used also in the sense of Sanskrit mrdutva 'softness'). tunhikka 'silent' from Sanskrit tûsnîka, mandukka 'a frog' from Sanskrit mandûka; ekka 'one' from Sanskrit eka, a word where the doubling was particularly important as avoiding homonymic clashes. Some words with -kka have been explained as Sanskrit loanwords in Prakrit, and the double consonant is therefore regarded as showing the learned preservation of the Sanskrit intervocalic consonant -k-. These words probably belong rather to this category of substitution of the more distinctive prakritic suffix -kka for -ka : sakka from Sanskrit svaka 'one's own', kanikkâ from Sanskrit kanikâ 'a grain', sâlakkîa which comes from Sanskrit śârikâ 'a kind of bird'. Sometimes there was no 'svârthe' -ka in the corresponding Sanskrit word and the suffix -kka was newly introduced in Prakrit. This has occurred for instance in Prakrit ledhukka, from Sanskrit lestu 'a lump'. In some words of very uncertain origin, often listed as Desî words by the Indian grammarians this final is also found: e.g. phirakka 'a waggon', tikka 'a spot' (though this might have some connection with Sanskrit tilaka17 'a mark'), nikka 'pure', khadakkî 'a side door' and a number of others. There are many words in the modern vernaculars that go back to originals in -kka not attested in Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa, but of considerable geographic extension, such as $*tukka^{19}$ 'a piece' > modern Hindi tûk, *tokka 'a basket' > modern Hindi tokrâ. In some of these cases the suffix -kka has been substituted for the original final of the word: thus modern Hindi $mukk\hat{a}$ 'a fist' from *mukka for mutthi < musti, Hindi $m\hat{u}th$, 'a handle'.

There is then no doubt of the existence of a very lively nominal and verbal suffix -kka in Prakrit, though it has no one particular point of origin in Sanskrit. The maximum extension of this suffix was probably at the time of the formation of the modern vernaculars. It is impossible to attribute any uniform meaning to this suffix -kka: among modern verbs one finds such pairs as Hindi dhalaknâ (formed with the -kk- suffix) 'to lean over' and dhalnâ 'to fall'; Nepali jhulkanu (with suffix) 'to rise (of sun)' and jhulnu 'to swing'. In some verbs the suffix might have an emphatic meaning and this may be due to its association with onomatopoeic verbs. In some nouns one could see in it a diminutive meaning, but on the whole the function of this suffix is one of formal enlargement, expressiveness and avoiding of confusion with other words.

None of the functions of the suffix -kka mentioned hitherto would explain directly the development of thakka 'tired', 'stationary' from the root sthâ- 'to stand'. Sthâ- does not share similarity in consonants with the group of verbs pac-, suŝ- etc. Thakka cannot therefore be simply classed as one of the past participles of the type mukka. It is certainly a later formation than mukka, as it does not figure in the early canonical Prakrit texts, and only is a feature of Jaina Mâhârâstrî and particularly of Apabhramsa. By the time of the formation of the adjective thakka there must have been already a definite suffix -kka, which had little enough semantic significance, but was phonetically strong. Thus it is most likely that thakka belongs to the third category of words discussed, namely that it represents an enlargement of the adjective tha < Sanskrit stha 'standing'. which was generally used enclitically; that formed thakka, just as Prakrit ledhu 'lump' for instance formed ledhukka. Thakka was not the only derivative of this type associated with \sharphi sthâ- 'to stand'. The past participle sthita > thia was similarly enlarged and gave *thiakka whence the modern

^{15.} J. Bloch, loc. cit. regards this as a borrowing from Persian.

^{16.} Р. Тніеме, ор. сіт. р. 184-185.

^{17.} R. L. TURNER, op. cit. s.v. tilo.

^{18.} Some of these have been explained by J. Bloch (loc. cit) as borrowings from the Dravidian.

^{19.} This might be connected with the Sanskrit root, trut- 'to break'.

^{20.} This is a particular characteristic of 'slang' endings (cf. Jespersen op. cit. p. 300) as for instance the ending -y which can replace all sorts of finals in Australian: football footy; Tasmania > Tasy; swagman > swaggy etc.

Hindi thik 'correct'; and stheya 'durable', Prakrit the(y)a gave *theakka, whence the modern Hindi thek 'support'. These two words are of parallel formation to thakka 'tired', 'stationary' but probably later in date, and they are not attested in the Prakrit or Apabhramśa texts so far available. The enclitic adjective tha seems to occur only with a dental initial in Prakrit, whereas the other derivatives of stha-, thia and the(y)a vary in their initial and generally prefer the cerebral which has survived in the modern forms.

The development of the meaning of the word thakka does not present any major difficulties. The concept of 'being tired' is usually expressed by past participles of verbs meaning 'to work hard': thus Sanskrit\/sram-'to exert oneself', past participle śrânta 'tired'; but it can also be expressed by words meaning 'having just stopped work', 'being stationary': this seems to be the case particularly in the lower strata of the language (e.g. English 'finished'). Thakka maintains the old meaning of 'being stationary' side by side with that of 'tired' and the two meanings are also found in thakkai. the verb formed from it. The concept of being tired, just like that of sundry other physical conditions, being fat, hungry, drunk etc. is apt to give rise to a variety of slang expressions, which sometimes replace the standard word. The word thakka was probably accepted into the literary dialects of Prakrit more readily than words of similar formation on account of the hopeless confusion that overtook the standard word for 'tired': Sanskrit śrânta 'tired' > Prakrit santa; Sanskrit śânta 'peaceful' > Prakrit santa. It remains certain that the adjective thakka, formed as it is with the help of a popular prakritic suffix can only be explained by conditions within Middle Indo-Aryan.

GLEANINGS FROM THE VASUDEVAHINDI

By L. A. Schwarzschild

I. The prefix u- for o-« Sanskrit ava-, apa-.

In his article 'The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a specimen of archaic Jain Maharaṣṭri' BSOS 1935, Professor Alsdorf has discussed some of the important morphological peculiarities of this most interesting text.* There remain some minor phonetic problems connected with words occurring in this work: one of these is the replacement of the oderived from Sanskrit ava- and apa- by u-.

The Sanskrit prefix ava- 'down' normally appears as o- in the various Middle Indo-Aryan dialects according to the general rules of phonetic development. There are however some words in which this o- has become u-. According to the standard works of Geiger and Pischel o and o, like o and o were easily interchangeable in closed syllables in Middle Indo-Aryan. But it has been shown by Berger that this was not the case, and that the opposition between o and o0 and o

uyâriyâ p. 46 line 11, from Sanskrit avatâritâ, uiṇṇo from avatīrna etc.

ulambio p. 147 line 6, from avalambita, uviddhâṇi p. 135 line 26 from avaviddhâni, uloyaṇa p. 17 line, 18, from avalokana, and further—

usaraha p. 102 line 7, from apasaratha, uhâvanâ p. 102 line 4 from apabhâvanâ.

The meaning of these forms leaves no doubt that they correspond to Sanskrit words beginning with ava-'down' and apa-'away'. Thus uyar- avatar- always means 'to get down': e.g. p. 46 lines 10-11 sâ vi Sâmadattâ uyâriyâ rahâo 'and Sâmadattâ also was helped down from the chariot'; on p. 147 line 3 in speaking of a well the story-teller says aham uyarâmi mâ tubbhe 'I am going down, not you'; p. 16 line 4 uinno sibigâo 'he got down from the palanquin'. In some instances Prakrit uyar- 'to get down' alternates with the

^{*} References throughout are to the Bhavnagar edition of 1931.

^{1.} Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache. Strassburg 1916. § 15.

Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strassburg 1900. §§ 84 and 119.
 Berger, Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre. Munich 1955, P. 61 ff.
 For conditioned changes of this kind cf. H. C. Bhayani's article 'Gujerati mām nāsikya vyanjan pūrvenā mūl e, o num i, u rūpe parivartan.' Jon. San. Re. So. 1.

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normal oyar-«avatar- and sometimes even with the semi-learned avayar-«avatar-: p. 134 lines 14ff. uyaraha,kîsa vilambaha 'come down (into the water)', says one of two friends 'why are you delaying?' Addhâṇaṃ parikkamiya ṇa sahasâ jalaṃ avayariyavvaṃ 'when one has been walking some distance one should not suddenly get down into the water', answers the other.

The words in which u- has replaced Sanskrit ava- or apa- before a single consonant do not strictly speaking constitute a linguistic peculiarity of the Vasudevahiṇḍi, but their frequency in this text is striking. There are parallels in other Jain Mâhârâṣṭrî works; e.g. in Jacobi's Ausgewähīte Erzählungen in Mâhârâṣṭrî we find ulugga avarugna 'sick'. This word recurs in a passage of very similar content in the Nirayâvaliyâo, though there are a number of variant readings, olugga and even ulagga, which may be derived from avalagna; uiṭṭha « apakrṣṭa appears in the Nâyadhammakahâo I. 8. but here too there are some variant readings. Further sporadic examples occur in other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, thus Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit ukirati for avakirati is quoted by Edgerton. There are some indirect survivals (vide infra) of this development in Apabhraṃśa, but it does not seem to have been extended, with a few possible exceptions e.g. Nepali uira for oiro-avagirate.

It is at once noticeable that apart from the Vasudevahiṇḍi this development is very restricted, whereas before double consonants the change of ava- and apa- to u- is not uncommon in middle Indo-Aryan. Some of the many examples are: uggaha « avagraha 'obstacle' which occurs in the Jain Śaurasenî of the Pravacanasâra, in Ardhamâgadhî and in Jain Mâhârâṣṭri; ukkhand—from avaskand—'to ambush', 'to attack' which appears in Ardhamâgadhî, and utthambh—from avastambh—'to support'.

Less numerous and in a different category are those words in which the prefix ava-(and apa-) was originally followed by a word beginning with a single consonant which was subsequently doubled, while the o- of the prefix became u-, e.g. ukkas- from avakrs- 'to draw away' (Ayâraṅgasutta II. 3.1.15), uttamsa from avatamsa 'head ornament' (Gaüdavaho).

Words in which the o- from ava- and apa- was replaced by u-may therefore be conveniently divided into three types:

- (1) ava-, apa- appear as u- and the following single consonant develops regularly.
 - (2) ava-, apa- appear as u- before a double consonant.

4. J. J. Meyer, Hindu Tales. London 1909, p. 122 note.

5. F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, Yale 1953. 3.55.

(3) ava- and apa- appear as u- and there is reduplication of the original single consonant.

The question arises: are these three developments part of the same linguistic process?

Requirements of metre might explain some, but by no means all the examples of u- for ava-, apa-, and naturally not those in the prose of the Vasudevahiṇḍi. The explanation is probably partially phonetic: the great similarity in pronunciation between o and u, particularly when they were both short, facilitated a confusion with the prefix ud- 'up'. This has already been suggested a long time ago by Wackernagel⁷ and later by Bloch.⁸

The prefixes concerned differ markedly in meaning; ava-'down' and ud-'up' remained strongly contrasted in some compounds, as for instance in the two Jain technical terms of opposite meaning: osappinî «avasarpinî 'descending cycle' and ussappinî utsarpinî 'ascending cycle', which recur throughout Ardhamâgadhî (e.g. Ṭhâṇaṅga I.1.) and Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî. On the other hand the basic meaning of some verbs obscured the differences in sense between the prefixes, and a glance at a dictionary 10 will show how this applies already in Sanskrit to some of the words under discussion:

tra- 'to cross' 'traverse', 'accomplish' etc.

ava + tra- 'descend to (from)', 'come down to earth', 'become incarnate', 'get over', 'attain' etc.

 $\mathit{ud} + \mathit{tra}\text{-}$ 'come out of', emerge from', 'get over', 'overcome'.

stabh- 'to fix', 'establish' etc.

ava + stabh-' to fix', 'support', 'grasp', 'take prisoner'.

ud + stabh- 'to fix aloft', 'set up'.

krs- 'to draw'.

ava + krs- 'to draw away', 'attract'.

ud + krs- 'to draw out', 'raise'.

apa + krs- 'to draw away', 'remove', 'put aside'.

The overlapping in meaning between the compound verbs concerned together with the phonetic causes mentioned above brought about a confusion between these prefixes in Middle Indo-Aryan: o- « ava- replaced u- « ud- just as u- « ud- replaced o- « ava- in the cases previously quoted. Thus $udg\hat{a}rana$ gives $ogg\hat{a}rana$ in the Cârudatta of Bhâsa, and ojjala for ujjala from ujjvala appears in Hemacandra. 11

J. Bloch, La formation de la langue marathe. Paris 1918 § 76.

^{6.} R. L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary. London 1931 s.v.uiro. The u- here is probably due to more recent phonetic developments.

^{7.} J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I. Göttingen 1896, § 141.

^{9.} E. Leumann, Ubersicht über die Avasyaka-Literatur. Hamburg 1934. p. 43.b.

e.g. A. A. Macdonell's Sanskrit Dictionary.
 For these and other examples cf. Paia-sadda-mahannavo. Vol. I. Calcutta 1934. p. 43.b. For examples that have survived into the modern languages e.g. Marathi osamra«utsarga 'release' cf. J. Bloch, op. cit. p. 94. To this group belong probably also some of the words quoted on pp. 50 and 51 of P. B. Pandit's important article 'E and O in Gujrati' Indian Linguistics Vol. XV. 1955.

This confusion between prefixes explains words in category 2 where ava- » o- was in a closed syllable, but it cannot account for the difference between category 1 (avatârâmi » uyârâmi) and 3 (avakrṣ- » ukkas-). One would only expect the latter, as the final consonant of the prefix ud- caused reduplication of the initial consonant of the following word.

The changes undergone by the Sanskrit system of composition by prefix in Middle Indo-Aryan help to explain the varied developments. Sometimes phonetic change has caused a weakening of the system and compounds were no longer recognised as such, particularly if they had become dissociated in meaning from the simple verb: thus Apabhramśa baisai 'sits' is no longer felt as a compound verb derived from upa + viśati, the simple visai « viśate 'enters' is rare and has become completely separated by phonetic evolution. But in Prakrit the majority of compound verbs were still felt as compounds and connections that were severed by phonetic evolution were often re-established: the changes involved are simple and less startling than the recompositions so characteristic of the Romance languages. Thus in Mâhârâştrî, where the development of intervocalic consonants has gone further than in the other Prakrits pabhâsei from pra + bhâs-'to speak' is found as well as the regular pahâsei; pakarei is more usual than the confusing payarei from pra + kr- 'to make' under the influence of the simple karei; paritapp occurs for pariyapp- 'to suffer pain' and there are very many other examples. When ud- preceded a word beginning with a sibilant recomposition was practically the rule, and seems to have taken place very early; the sibilant either caused assimilation of the preceding d of ud-, or caused the disappearance of the d with compensatory lengthening of the u of ud-: e.g. Sanskrit ucchvas- 'to breathe' gives in Ardhamâgadhî both ûsas- and ussas-. 12 There was then clearly a feeling that the prefix u-«ud- belonged to a syllable of two morae (either a closed syllable or one containing a long \hat{u}) in the majority of cases. But when the original Sanskrit ud- had been followed by a vowel the question of double consonants or of lengthening never arose: e.g. Sanskrit udîrana gives Maharaştri uirana 'sending out'. There was therefore also a tendency in Prakrit speakers to think of a prefix that was simply u- and this tendency was strengthened by some words in which the prefix upa- 'hither' had also become u- e.g. Sanskrit upâya 'device' Jain Mâhârâştrî uâya. The fact that a simple u in an open syllable was felt as a prefix is shown by some of the compounds formed with the prefix upa- which lose the initial u- in back-formations involving the wrong analysis of u- as a prefix: e.g. Sanskrit upavasatha gives the Jain technical term posaha; 13 Sanskrit upânahau 'shoes' becomes $p\hat{a}han\hat{a}o^{13}$ in Ardhamâgadhî; $vakkanta^{14}$ in the Kalpasûtra is probably derived from $upakr\hat{a}nta$ 'begun'; vauttha in the Apabhraṃśa of the Harivaṃśapurâna is derived from *upavastap.p. of upavas- 'to fast', and Apabhraṃśa baisai 'sits' comes from upaviśati. It was therefore in the form of a simple u- that the prefix ud- replaced ava- » o- in Middle Indo-Aryan. This explains the absence of reduplication in the following consonant and accounts for the examples in the Vasudevahiṇḍi:

Sanskrit	avalambita	olambio	+	u- » ulambio,
	avatar ati	oyarai	+	u- » uyarai,
	avaviddha	oviddha	+.	u- » uviddha,
	apasarati	osarai	+	u- » usarai etc.

As in a number of other instances the archaic Jain Mâhârâstrî of the Vasudevahindi has thus given us an indication of a transitory feature of the spoken language which is little attested elsewhere. For a while there existed side by side the two factors which account for the differences in development between the two categories 1 and 3: consciousness of a prefix u-plus double consonant on the one hand, and on the other consciousness that a simple u- was also a prefix. Gradually the first tendency gained ascendancy, seeing that it was in agreement with the general trend to preserve the initial consonant of the word that followed the prefix and to remodel compounds. In the Vasudevahindi there is some overlapping in meaning, as already pointed out for Sanskrit, but on the whole uyarai « avatarati 'to descend" is still kept separate from uttarai « uttarati 'to emerge from'. In Apabhramsa uttarai has ousted uyarai and we find for instance in the Paumasiricariu¹⁵ uttâriya in the meaning 'put down'. It is from this form with the double consonant that Gujarati utârvu, Hindi utârnâ etc. are derived. Similarly Hindi usarnâ 'to recede' is not derived directly from Sanskrit utsarati 'to leap up', but from apasarati 'to recede' via Middle Indo-Aryan osarai 16 ‡u » usarai (Vasudevahindi). With recomposition and doubling of the consonant this word gave ussarai in later Jain Mâhârâstrî and in Apabhramśa.

The intermediate stage shown by the Vasudevahindi gives an indication of the complexities of developments in Middle Indo-Aryan: it shows just one detail of the many changes and remodellings that helped to weaken the old system of composition. The complete decay of the system and the gradual rise of new methods of expression is characteristic of Apabhramsa.

1948. Glossary s.v. uttâriya.

^{12.} R. Pischel. op. cit. 327 a.

^{13.} For a different interpretation of these two examples cf. Pischel, op. cit. 141.

The etymology vakkanta«avakrânta given in the Paia-saddha-mahannavo is unsatisfactory as it involves a complete reversal of the meaning of the word.
 Cf. H. C. Bhayani and M. C. Modi, Paumasiricariu. Singhi Jain series, Bombay

^{16.} Gujarati osarvu«*ossar- may represent a recomposition of this form or it may more probably show the influence of ussarai. Cf. P. B. Pandit loc. cit.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN HINDI NAHÎN "NO", "NOT"

By L. A. Schwarzschild

In an examination of word-phrases A. Meillet 1 stated long ago: "Des mots comme oui, non représentent le plus haut degré d'abstraction que puisse atteindre ainsi une réponse consistant en un seul mot," As has been repeatedly pointed out, the classical Indo-European languages did not have any exact equivalent of this abstract method of expression. The majority of the modern languages on the other hand have arrived at these convenient "special expletive interjections".2 Hindi nahîn, like the cognate Marathi $n\hat{a}h\tilde{i}$, Gujerati nahi(m), etc. typifies this development of most modern Indo-European languages both syntactically and formally: it is used as an equivalent of "no" (though it may serve also as negative adverb), and it represents an enlargement of the old Indo-European negative particle, Sanskrit na. This formal and syntactic transformation of Sanskrit na into modern nahîn has been variously explained. The standard theories involve the addition to the negative particle of some part of a substantive verb, a development by no means isolated in the Indo-European languages.3 They may be summarized as follows:—

I. Theories in which parts of the verb as-" to be" are added.

- (a) Kellogg ⁴ stated: "The common negative nahîn, Braj nâhi has arisen from the combination of the negative na with the 3rd singular âhi of the substantive verb.
- (b) S. K. Chatterji ⁵ thinks that *asati based on Sanskrit asti may have been added to na.
- (c) Dwijendranath Basu 6 believes that only a derivation from
- ¹ A. Meillet, Linguistique historique et linguistique générale, ii, p. 4, Paris, 1938. ² Cf. Bloomfield, Language, p. 177, and for the great variety in the expression of the negative cf. E. Otto, Stand und Aufgaben der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft,

p. 18 and p. 24.

3 Cf. H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, vii, Syntax, pp. 72 ff.

⁴ S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindi Language, 3rd ed., London, 1938, p. 281.

⁵ S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta,

⁶ Dwijendranath Basu, "On the Negative Auxiliary in Bengali," *Indian Linguistics*, vol. xv, 1955.

 $na + \hat{a}sit$ can account for the Bengali forms. Similar explanations were given also by Sen ¹ and others.

II. Theories in which parts of the verb $bh\hat{u}$ -" to be" are added.

- (a) L. P. Tessitori ² suggests that the origin of the Old Western Rajasthani forms was from na + hui and huim < Pkt huvai, hoi < Skt bhavati.
- (b) J. Bloch ³ makes the tentative suggestion that Marathi $n\hat{a}him$, which is also found in Apabhramśa as $n\hat{a}him$, comes from na with the addition of Prakrit $\hat{a}havai < \text{Skt }\hat{a}bhavati$, cf. Marathi $\hat{a}hnem$ "to be".
- (c) R. L. Turner ⁴ quotes Bloch's suggestion and he further emphasizes the possibility of contamination with the descendants of Sanskrit *nahi*, more than the preceding writers did. He is followed in this particularly by M. C. Modi.⁵

An examination of the evidence of some of the Middle Indo-Aryan texts points in the direction envisaged by Professor Turner.

In the Ardha-Mâgadhî of the Jain canon, as also in Pali, the general structure of negations and affirmations is still very much as in the older Indo-European languages. Answers to questions are usually in the form of a whole phrase, in most cases containing a fixed locution, e.g. Uvâsagadasâo (edition Vaidya), p. 57, v. 219, where the lay disciple Saddâlaputta says to the heretic Gosala Mankhaliputta: pabhû nam tubbhe mama dhammâyariena dhammovaesaena bhagavayâ Mahâvîrena saddhim vivâdam karettae? "Are you capable of engaging in a debate with the Venerable Mahâvîra, my instructor and teacher of the Law?" No inatthe samatthe, said Gosala Mankhaliputta, "this matter is not possible." Positive answers, especially those following on a command, are often expressed by the simple word $tah\hat{a} < \text{Sanskrit } tath\hat{a}$ "thus", "even so", but on the whole affirmations too tend to be complete sentences, e.g. Uvâsagadasâo, p. 45, v. 173 (edition Vaidya): se nûņam Kûndalakoliyâ atthe samatthe? "Now is this matter possible, Kûndalakoliyâ?" Hantâ atthi. "Indeed it is."

In spite of this conservatism in syntax there have been important

³ J. Bloch, Histoire de la Langue Marathe, Paris, 1918, p. 292.

4 R. L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary, London, 1931, p. 337b.

 $^{^1}$ Sukumar Sen, "Index Verborum of Old Bengali Carya Songs and Fragments," $Indian\ Linguistics,$ ix, 1946–8.

 $^{^{2}}$ L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani," $IA.,\,1914{-}16,\,\mathrm{paragraph}\,\,103.$

⁵ M. C. Modi in the glossary of the *Gurjararâsâvali*, Baroda, 1956, p. 235.

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changes in the form of the negative particle. There appears in the canon a series of enlargements of the negative particle for emphasis and distinctiveness. Some of these enlargements date back to Sanskrit and differ from their Sanskrit prototypes mainly by their frequency. In the very oldest parts of the canon such as the Āyārangasutta na is still the most frequent type of negation, sometimes even ousting $m\hat{a}$ with prohibitions, but elsewhere in the canon no < no < na + u has become the most usual negative particle. This may be partially due to the desire to make a clear distinction from the practically meaningless particle nam < nanu,1 which is found so very frequently in the canon. The negative no was less favoured in the later Prakrit dialects, perhaps on account of its identity with no < Sanskrit nas = us (Ardhamâgadhī ne). Again mainly in the older sections of the canon one finds neva < Sanskrit naiva, used much as in Sanskrit, e.g. Āyārangasutta i, l. 3. This form seems to grow rarer in the later parts of the canon but recurs in Jain Saurasenî, also in classical Mâhârâstrî as nea (Setubandha, Gaudavaho).2

Other usual reinforced forms of the negative are Sanskrit nahi > Prakrit nahi, Sanskrit na + api > Prakrit navi, and na + khalu > nakhu. In later dialects, such as dramatic Saurasenî and the Mâhârâştrî of the lyrics (e.g. Vajjâlaggam) nakhu has been weakened further to nahu and it survives into Apabhramsa and even in the early vernacular texts of W. India, e.g. the Gurjararâsâvalî. Navi < na + api retains a good deal of emphasis in the canon, e.g. Panhâvâgaranâim: na datthum na kaheum navi sumarium "not to see, to speak of or even to remember". This particle too has survived into Apabhramsa (Bhavisattakahâ, etc.), and is found as late as the Gurjararâsâvalî, Vasantavilâsa Phâgu, etc. Na + asti> natthi is frequent in Ardha-Mâgadhî as in Pali and it has clearly lost its association with the 3rd person singular and has become stereotyped, as is shown by its use with plurals, e.g. Vivâgasuya, story of Mṛgaputra: natthi tassa dâragassa hatthâ vâ pâyâ vâ kannâ vå acchî vå nåså vå . . . " the boy had no hands or feet or ears or eyes or nose". Natthi in such cases is scarcely more than just a reinforced form of the negative particle. Its survival into Apabhramśa and as the modern Gujerati nathî is well known.

Apart from these combinations of the negative particle inherited directly from Sanskrit there are also in the Jain canon new negative particles where purely Prakritic elements make up the reinforcement. There is, for instance, the form naim. This occurs in a fixed locution where an offender asks for forgiveness, ending with the words nâim bhujjo karanayâe "and I will not do it again" (e.g. Uvâsagadasâo ii, 113 ed. Vaidya). Nâim has been explained by Dr. Vaidya in his note on the passage in question. He compares it with puṇâim which is found in Ardha-Mâgadhî for puṇa < punar "again". This extension seems to have started among the pronominal adverbs of time such as Sanskrit kadácit "sometimes" > Prakrit kayâim. The close association between na and punar in particular can be seen from such Prakrit forms as nauna < na punar and naunâim < na punar "never again", and in fact that may well be the meaning of the extended form naim in the passage from the Uvâsagadasâo " never again ", rather than " not again ".

In one passage of the canon there occurs yet a further enlargement of the negative probably based on this form, namely $n\hat{a}hi:n\hat{a}hi$ te mam $\hat{a}hi$ mto suham atthi "you will have no joy from me", a phrase repeated by the enraged heretic Gosala Mankhaliputta (Bhagavatîsûtra xv, 1). This form almost certainly represents a contamination of $nahi < \text{Sanskrit } nahi \text{ with } n\hat{a}im$. Any influence of the verbs "to be " $\sqrt{bh\hat{u}}$ or \sqrt{as} at this early date is unthinkable as there was no form of either of these verbs that resembled a type * $\hat{a}hi$ which could coalesce with na to form $n\hat{a}hi$ in Ardha-Mâgadhî. A change of s to h, such as is encountered in the development of the endings of the future is possible in a terminational element, but would be highly improbable in what is after all an emphatic negative form. This makes a derivation $n\hat{a}hi < n\hat{a}s\hat{u}$ wellnigh impossible. $Bhavai\sqrt{bh\hat{u}}$ is obviously phonologically just as unlikely to provide the enlargement * $\hat{a}hi$ at this date.

In the later literary Prakrits the most noticeable innovation is in the syntactic use of the negation and of nahi < Sanskrit nahi in particular. This word is used, nearly always repeated, as an interjection "no". The repetition seems to be a rhythmic necessity: a feeling was still there that an emphatic and direct negation should be expressed by a whole phrase; one single short word was not enough. This is characteristic of dramatic Sauraseni and especially

 $^{^{1}}$ A less widely accepted alternative etymology nûnam is given by R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen.

² Quoted by the Paiasaddamahannavo s.v.

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf. R. L. Turner, "The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan," $JRAS.,\ 1927.$

frequent in the works of Bhâsa, e.g. Svapnavâsavadatta Act II, where a maid asks: Bhattidârie, jadi so rââ virûvo bhave . . . "Princess, if the king were to be ugly . . ." Nahi nahi answers Vâsavadattâ, daṃsaṇîo evva. "No, he is handsome." In some of the slightly later dramas one occasionally comes across cases where nahi without repetition conveys the meaning of "no", e.g. Mâlavikâgnimitra Act III, Mâlavikâ: Kim appano chandena mantesi? "Do you say this of your own accord?" Maid: Nahi, bhattino edâiṃ . . . akkharâiṃ. "No, these are the words of my master." Even here there is a variant reading with repetition of nahi.

But as regards form the post-canonical Prakrit dialects do not appear to have either of the unusual reinforced negatives found in the canon, nâim and nâhi, though nâim is permitted for Prakrit by Hemacandra's Grammar (II.190). In II.191 Hemacandra even gives mâim, which must be derived from mâ "not" used with injunctions, while the final syllable is due to the influence of nâim; the word mâim is not to be found in any texts. The Ardha-Mâgadhî negatives nâim and nâhi are absent even from a popular Jaina-Mâhârâştrî text like the Vasudevahindi, where apart from all the ordinary enlarged forms of the negative we find only nai < Sanskrit na cid. Nâim and nâhi recur in Apabhramśa: they are found in the texts of the Digambaras and Svetâmbaras alike. The resemblance between the Jain canon and Apabhramsa as regards negation is more than a coincidence. Naim and nahi used in the particularly emphatic passages quoted from the canon, presumably belonged to the popular language and survived as emphatic negatives in those parts of India where the literary Apabhramsas were formed. They were then spread far afield by the literary Apabhramsas, as is shown by the wide distribution of the derivatives of Apabhramśa nâhi.

Unlike nāhi, Apabhramśa nāim seems to have left few direct descendants (possibly Bengali nay may be counted as one of them). This was due to the fact that Apabhramśa nāim was less distinct as a negative, being identical with Apabhramśa nāim (cf. also Apabhramśa nam, naim, nāvai), which had the meaning of "like", "as if", and was clearly the ancestor of modern Hindi nāim. The confusion between nāim 'not' and nāim 'like" in Apabhramśa

affected the other negative particles, so that one finds nau "not" $< na\ tu$ given by Hemacandra as an equivalent of "like", while on the other hand nam "like" appears with the meaning of "not" in the Sandeśarâsaka. The most curious result of this confusion is found in the works of Hemacandra (Grammar IV 444 and 401, v. 3, and Kumârapâlacarita VIII, 81). Here two particles jani and janu appear in the sense of "like" (janu also occurs in the Paumacariu of Svayambhû). It is difficult to dissociate these forms from Eastern Hindi jani, jin "not" which are explained by S. K. Chatterji 1 from yat + na. But nahi "not" seems to have been too distinctive a form to be affected by this confusion.

Some further features of negation in Middle Indo-Aryan have a bearing on the history of Hindi nahîn. There is a negative particle nâ in the Mâhârâştrî of the Gaudavaho, and the Apabhramśa $n\hat{a}hi$ can sometimes be analysed as $n\hat{a} + hi$ (e.g. Pâhudadohâ v. 94). This form could well originate from na ca > Prakrit na ya "and not", "nor", a very frequent combination already in Sanskrit and especially so in Middle Indo-Aryan. It would thus form a parallel to Apabhramśa nau "not" < na tu "but not". Na ya appears in exactly the same combinations as the simple na, and scarcely differs from it in meaning in the Jain canon, e.g. na yâvi appears in the sense of "not even". The Vasudevahindi has ya na ya (p. 202, l. 24, Bhavnagar edition), where the ya had to be repeated to express the meaning of "and", as the combination na ya had become equivalent to a simple na. Phonetically na and the enclitic ya < ca formed one word, and so the ya-śruti was often omitted in writing, as for instance in na a in the Sauraseni of the Mâlatîmâdhava p. 400 (Trivandrum edition). Over a large area of Northern India one would expect the further contraction of na a,

¹ Separate etymologies are usually given for the comparative particles nâim, nâvai, and nam, but because of their similarity and simultaneous appearance they are probably connected with each other. Nâim is derived from nyâyena "in such a manner" by Bloch, Langue Marathe, p. 205; nâvai from jnâyate

[&]quot;it is known" by Bhayani, Paumacariu, Glossary s.v. najjai; nam from Vedic na "like" by Alsdorf, Harivamśapurána, Glossary s.v. nam. The alternative explanation of nam from nanu "indeed" is more convincing, as there are numerous instances where nam could easily be interpreted as meaning either "like", "as if" or "indeed" and often in editions of Apabhramśa texts the English translation and the Sanskrit commentary are at variance over this. The change of meaning from the averative nanu > nam to a comparative is late and does not feature in Prakrit except in a reconstructed line of the Lîlavaîkahâ, v. 1308. This late appearance renders a direct connection of nam with the Vedic na "like" improbable, but there is a possibility that Apabhramśa speakers used similar methods of expression to those that brought about the comparative meaning of Vedic na "not" (cf. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar for Students, paragraph 180), and that the comparative particles are in fact derived from the negative.

1 Cf. Baburam Saksena, The Evolution of Awadhi, Allahabad, 1937, p. 309.

naya to $n\hat{a}$ by the Apabhramśa period, although details of this phonetic change are still uncertain. The appearance of this form $n\hat{a} < na$ ca gave new vitality to the popular emphatic negative $n\hat{a}hi$. $N\hat{a}$ itself left a number of derivatives in the modern vernaculars, it is found for instance in Kashmiri and Lahnda and in modern Eastern Hindi as well as in earlier texts from that region (e.g. the works of Jâyasî and Tulsîdâs).

The later phonetic development of the Apabhramśa negative $n\hat{a}hi(m)$ does not present many problems. The lengthening of the final syllable that characterizes the Hindi derivative is probably based on the influence of the frequent final $-h\hat{i}n$ of adverbs such as $kah\hat{i}n$. The correspondence of the final of these locative adverbs with the final of the negation in some of the other modern Indo-Aryan languages lends support to this view: Gujerati has $tah\hat{i}$ and $nah\hat{i}(m)$, while Old Gujerati has variants such as $kah\hat{i}a(m)$ for the locative adverb and $nah\hat{i}a(m)$ for the negative; Nepali has $kah\hat{i}$ and $nah\hat{i}$, etc. The syntactic advance shown by the Prakrit of the dramas in the use of $nah\hat{i} < Sanskrit nah\hat{i}$ as the "abstract" negative interjection "no" was naturally continued by the more popular $n\hat{i}ah\hat{i}$, and this gave rise to modern usage.

NOTES ON TWO POSTPOSITIONS OF LATE MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN:

TANAYA and RESI, RESAMMI

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

In the earlier days of Indian Linguistics it was customary to think of the postpositions of modern Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages simply as prepositions in reverse. Thus Kellogg¹ says of postpositions: "These are similar in character to prepositions in English, but as they usually follow their noun they are more accurately termed postpositions." It was also usual to regard their origin as due entirely to the decay of the Sanskrit declension system. These two suppositions are true only to a limited extent. J. Bloch² has already noted that the modern Indo-Aryan postpositions differ from the English and French prepositions in that they are much less independent. This lack of independence has led to drastic phonetic reductions in the course of their development and it makes their origin often uncertain. Their rise is not necessarily directly dependent on the loss of the declensional endings. This article represents an attempt to illustrate this in the light of the early history of two very different postpositions, tanaya and resi, resammi.

Taṇaya is one of the first postpositions to appear in the later Prakrit texts and in Apabhraṃśa, and it shows certain archaic characteristics, but nevertheless its origin remains uncertain. No fewer than five major theories have been advanced as to its derivation:

- (a) J. Beames³ thought that *taṇaya* came from the Sanskrit adjectival suffix *-tana* as found in *cirantana*, *purātana* 'ancient' or even *prāhnetana* 'belonging to the morning'. This theory has been followed amid certain misgivings by Kellogg¹ and especially by Grierson.⁴
- (b) J. Bloch⁵ thought of the possibility that tanaya came directly from the root tan- 'to stretch'.

¹ For the contraction of the final -aya of masculine nouns cf. L. Alsdorf, Apabhramśa Studien, Hamburg, 1937.

S. H. Kellogg, Grammar of the Hindi Language, 3rd edition, London, 1938, p. 100.
 J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen, Paris. 1934. p. 181.

J. Beames, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Language of India, London 1872-9, vol. 2, 1875. pp. 287 ff.

G. A. Grierson, "On certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung XXXVIII, 1905, p. 489.
 J. Bloch, La Formation de la Langue Marathe, Paris, 1915, p. 204.

- (c) Dave⁶ suggested a derivation from the Sanskrit tanaya 'son', and this view was considered the least objectionable by W. N. Brown.⁷
- (d) Tessitori^S suggested a derivation from ātmanaka 'one's own' with loss of the initial vowel by aphaeresis.
- (e) Modi mentioned that "there is a possibility of deriving it from a pronominal form of tad".9

The difficulties in the case of the postposition *resi*, *resammi* are perhaps even greater and no suggestions as to its origin appear to have been made.

Both tanaya and resi, resammi are so well attested that there is little doubt as to their rôle and meaning. Tanaya was a postpositional adjective and was usually added to a noun or pronoun in the genitive case. Being an adjective tanaya agreed in gender and number with the noun that it described and which generally followed it, e.g. Jinindaha tanau dhammu 'the law of the Lord Jina' (Paumasiricariu IV, 64). It was also occasionally used to form a compound with the noun before it which was then left undeclined, and in such a case tanaya fulfilled a more truly postpositional function, e.g. dīvammi tammi dittho kim sattho Rāyagihatanao 'has the caravan from Rājagrha been seen on this island?' (Nāṇapañcamīkahā IV. 84). Sometimes the use of tanaya has been further extended, particularly in later Apabhramsa, and it has reached the transitional stages between a postpositional adjective and an indeclinable postposition. It could be used, as Bhayani 10 has shown, in the phrase ... tanena kāranena 'by reason of ...' and with the elision of kāranena it tended to become a causal postposition in its own right, being listed as such by Hemacandra IV.425: tādarthye kehim-tehim-resiresim-tanenāh, 'Kehim, tehim, resi, resim and tanena are used in a causal sense'.

In most of its earlier occurrences tanaya was used with pronouns rather than nouns. Thus it figures in the Paramātmaprakāśa: mahutanai 'mine', in the $S\bar{a}vayadhamma-dohā$: tasu tanaim 'his', and in the Paumacariu of Svayambhū: kaho tanau dhanau 'whose wealth?'. In this use with a pronoun to form a possessive, tanaya resembles an even earlier attested postposition, kera, which is found in $M\bar{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{a}str\bar{i}$, e.g. in maha-kera 'mine' (Hāla). There is even evidence that like kera, tanaya was actually used to form a possessive adjective

that was felt as a unity, $tujjh\bar{a}nau$ (attested in the $Kuvalayam\bar{a}l\bar{a}^{11}$) from tujjha + tanau.²⁷

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The declensional system of Apabhramsa maintained some clarity. Thus mahu in mahu-tanai stands for the genitive or dative-ablative singular of the pronoun and would therefore in its context indicate possession without the addition of tanai. Similarly in the case of nouns, phalaim sagga-dumaho could mean 'the fruit of the heavenly tree' without the addition of tanaim as in the Paumacariu 3.7.1.a. phalaim sagga-dumaho tanaim. As in the case of the history of languages outside Indo-Arvan, for example in Romance, pronouns tended to keep some case distinctions longer than nouns, and in fact they even retain a diversity of declensional forms in Modern Indo-Aryan. One would therefore expect fewer, not more postpositions with pronouns than with nouns. Yet the opposite state of affairs prevails and postpositions are more frequent with pronouns than with nouns, particularly in Apabhramsa and to a lesser extent even in the earlier stages of the modern languages, for instance in Awadhi. as pointed out by B. Saksena. 12 The frequency of tanaya with pronouns and its use with nouns clearly showing the genitive ending indicate that this postpositional adjective was not used simply as a substitute for the ending; and the decline of the case-system and the rise of the postpositions in the case of tanaya at least cannot be dismissed just as a matter of cause and effect. If one explains tanaya as an emphatic form of the possessive, then its frequent use with pronouns is quite understandable: emphasis is felt particularly necessary with pronouns and mahu-tanaya etc. would simply correspond to a more emphatic method of expression than mahu 'of me'. perhaps more emphatic even than the Prakrit maha-kera 'mine', Apabhramśa mera, and it would be equivalent to 'my very own'.

This aspect of Apabhramśa usage also throws some light on the etymology of taṇaya. It renders improbable the suggestion by Beams that taṇaya was derived from the Sanskrit suffix -tana. This suffix was used exclusively to form derivatives associated with time, e.g. cirantana, purātana 'ancient', sadātana 'everlasting' etc. As pointed out by J. Wackernagel¹³ it occurs occasionally in rare and late formations associated with words of a local rather than a temporal meaning, but it never had any strong possessive sense and there is no sign of it ever having become emphatic. Moreover Sanskrit -tana,

T. N. Dave, A Study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th Century, London, 1935. p. 58.

W. Norman Brown, "Some Postpositions behaving as Prepositions in the Old Gujarati Vasantavilāsa. Indian Linguistics, 1958, p. 231.

^{8.} L. P. Tessitori, Indian Antiquary, 43, p. 226.

^{9.} M. C. Modi, Gurjararāsāvalī, Baroda, 1956. Glossary s.v. Taņai. 10. H. C. Bhayani, Paumacariu of Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva. Bombay, 1953, p. 67.

This form is quoted by A. Master, "Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā-kahā", BSOS. xiii. 2. 1950.

^{27.} However in a very recent article in the Jubilee Volume of Brahmavidya (Adyar 1961), "The Late M.I.A. Possessive Suffix -āna" H. C. Bhayani has shown that forms like tujjhāṇau are probably unconnected with the possessive postposition tanaya.

^{12.} B. Saksena, The Evolution of Awadhi, Allahabad, 1937, p. 214.

J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, edited by A. Debrunner, Vol. II. 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 593.

Emphatic expressions in the popular language generally have an element of novelty and tempt one to discard any explanation that is based on a well-worn word or phrase which is likely to be weakened in meaning. Bloch's suggestion that tanaya is a direct derivative from the verb tan- 'to stretch' appears therefore to have a certain measure of probability, particularly as such a formation seems closely parallel to the other usual possessive postposition, kera kārya from kr- 'to make'. But kārya is by origin an obligatory participle and the presence of the vowel -a- before the -ya suffix is unheard of in such participles. A direct derivation of tanaya by means of the suffix -ya is therefore highly unlikely in Sanskrit14 as well as in Middle Indo-Aryan. There is even general agreement that the Sanskrit noun tanaya 'son' has no direct connection with the verb tan-. 15 In Middle Indo-Aryan there do exist derivatives in -aya from verbs, but these are agent nouns, as this -aya comes from Sanskrit -aka: e.g. Sanskrit himsaka > Prakrit himsaya 'one who injures', Sanskrit vināśaka > Prakrit vināsaya 'one who destroys', from the verbs hims- and nas-. In such derivatives the vowel of the first syllable is generally lengthened 16 and one would therefore expect *tānaya. It is however mainly the meaning that renders the derivation of tanaya from the verb tan- impossible, as it seems hard to imagine how an agent noun meaning 'that which stretches or extends' could possibly have become an emphatic possessive adjective meaning 'one's very own'. The explanation suggested by Bloch therefore remains extremely doubtful both on phonetic and semantic grounds.

The emphatic use of the postposition tanaya and its close link with pronouns render unlikely Dave's suggestion of a derivation from the Sanskrit tanaya. Tanaya 'son', 'descendant' is sometimes used in Sanskrit as an adjective 'belonging to one's own family'. There is however no evidence in Prakrit for this adjectival use of tanaya: it seems to have been simplified and restricted in meaning, and is found in Prakrit only with the meaning of 'son' which is irreconcilable with the later Prakrit and Apabhramsa emphatic postposition tanaya.

Modi's interesting suggestion that the postposition tanaya is derived from the pronoun tad was not developed by him any further. It is in agreement with the geographical distribution of the

14. J. Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 213.

16. J. Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 146.

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word. Taṇaya is found only in Southern and Western Apabhramśa and in Prakrit texts influenced by Apabhramśa. It is very usual in Old Western Rajasthani and has survived in poetic usage in modern Gujarati. Probable further derivatives of tanaya are confined to the western and central areas, for example the postposition ne in Gujarati, Panjabi and Hindi, and nem, nim in Marathi. 17 It is more doubtful whether the modern Awadhi ten 'from' is a derivative of tanaya. One would therefore be inclined to associate tanaya with a prototype that was characteristic of the west of India. The oblique of the pronoun tad appears in Hindi and the associated group of languages as tin, and only in the extreme west and scattered other areas does one find an oblique of the demonstrative pronoun that resembles taṇaya: Sindhi has an oblique plural base tan-, Mewari an oblique plural taṇām and an oblique singular tāṇī, while Kumaoni has an oblique plural tanana or tanū. These forms are probably derived from the Prakrit genitive plural of the pronoun tad, which was tānam, and the short vowel in the first syllable of the modern forms is due to weakening in an unaccented word. The association between the genitive and the possessive is close and the suggestion made by Modi would therefore carry some conviction were it not for certain objections of a phonetic nature. The genitive plural tāṇaṃ, which occurred along with tesim as the most usual form in literary Māhārāṣṭrī, was generally replaced in Apabhraṃśa by tāhaṃ. Tāṇaṃ, according to the evidence of the survivals in the modern languages, must have continued to exist in the spoken language over some parts of western India. Had the postposition tanaya been directly derived from tanam, one might at least in its earlier occurrences expect to find a long vowel in the first syllable:* tāṇaya.

From the point of view of meaning the most probable source of the postposition tanaya would be a word meaning 'self'. Hence Tessitori's theory of derivation from ātman 'self', ātmanaka 'one's own' has much to commend it. But some phonetic difficulties lie in the way of this theory too. The loss of the initial vowel is to be expected in a word used as a postposition, and so there is no need even to consider the alternative Vedic form of atman, namely tman 'self' as a possible prototype. The real difficulty lies in the fact that the change of -tm- to -pp- in ātman > appana just like the closely associated change of -tv- to -pp- and of -dv- to -bb- was characteristic mainly of the western areas of India, particularly in the Prakrit and early Apabhramśa period. This is shown by the frequency of appana < ātman 'self' in Western and Southern Apabhramśa, while the preservation of the dental, $\bar{a}tman < atta$ is characteristic of the Prakrits which originate from a more easterly region than these Apabhramśa dialects. In the later Apabhramsa period there was a certain amount

^{15.} M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Heidelberg, 1953, ff., s.v. tanaya.

of intermingling of these forms: thus the originally western form $apar{a} < ar{a}tman$ appears in the Old Bengali Caryas and figures also in the modern languages of the east of India, while the eastern type of form is actually used as an emphatic possessive several times in the very late Apabhramsa of the Prākṛtapaingala, attaṇaya < $\bar{a}t$ manaka 'one's own'. But this intermingling does not apply to the earlier Apabhramśa period, when tanaya is first found, and it seems difficult to explain by an eastern soundshift a word as much confined to the west as tanaya.

A word closely connected with atman, perhaps even in its Indo-European etymology¹⁸ is the rare Vedic word tan, which is often translated by 'self'. Tan in its turn is closely connected in meaning and use with tanu 'body', 'self', e.g. in R. V. VI. 49.13: rāyā madema tanvā tanā ca 'may we, by ourselves, rejoice in wealth'. Tanu 'body' was also used as a reflexive in Vedic, but this function was later in Sanskrit reserved evclusively for ātman. There is however evidence that at a considerably later date tanu 'body' was still used as a reflexive. This may not be a survival of Vedic usage and may easily have been an independent innovation, as the two meanings are often associated and words for 'body' are used intermittently in many languages for 'self', as for instance corps 'body' is used in Old French. This use of the word tanu as a reflexive with the meaning of 'self' seems to have been characteristic of the north-west of India. The first evidence of it for post-Vedic times appears in the Kharosthi documents from Chinese Turkestan where Burrow¹⁹ has found it used in a typical possessive manner: tuo soțhamga Lpipeya tanu goțhade vyosiśasi 'you, sothamga Lpipeya, shall pay it from your own farm'. The possessive meaning is also found in the adjective tanuvaga 'belonging to the self'. This word figures also in the North-Western Prakrit inscriptions (in the Taxila scroll) as tanuvaka and is clearly formed from tanu with the addition of the suffix -aka, on the same model as Middle Indo-Aryan and popular Sanskrit asmat-santaka 'our own'.20 The word tanu also survives with the meaning of 'self' in the modern Dardic languages and is for instance quoted for Torwali by Grierson.²¹ Grierson wished to derive this Torwali word tanu 'self' from Sanskrit ātman, but this etymology was contradicted by Turner²² and later by Burrow.¹⁹ Turner quotes further from Dardic:

19. T. Burrow, The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan,

21. G. A. Grierson, Torwali, London, 1929, p. 55-56. 22. R. L. Turner, A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931, s.v. tan.

Tirāhī tānu 'own': Pashai tānik 'self'; Khōwār tan, Gārvī tanī 'own'; Maiya $t\bar{a}m$ 'self'. These examples show the very clear connection that exists between the word tanu 'self' and the possessive reflexive adjective 'one's own' in these dialects. Torwali for instance has both tanu 'self' and a possessive tanu 'one's own'. This brings to mind the likelihood that the Apabhramśa tanaya 'own' was also connected in some way with the word tanu 'body', 'self'. There are signs that in Prakrit and Apabhramsa the concrete meaning of 'body' was taken over more and more by sarīra, kāya and deha. This was only a temporary feature, since, as indicated by Turner, in modern Gujarati, Hindi and Nepali tan 'body' from Sanskrit tanu reappears as a learned borrowing with the original dental n and with its Sanskrit meaning. There are some cases in Apabhramsa where tanu clearly maintains its concrete meaning, 23 but it is never as concrete as sarīra < Sanskrit śarīra 'body', and can often be translated by 'person' e.g. in the Pāhudadohā: annu ma jānahi appanau gharu pariyanu tanu itthu 'one's house, one's family and one's beloved own person know them to be something other, not the soul' (v. 9.), but sarīrayaham sangu kari 'being attached to the body' (v. 102). In fact tanu seems throughout the major Prakrit and Apabhramsa dialects to occupy a place midway in meaning between the derivatives of atman 'self', 'soul' and of śarīra, kāya and deha 'body'. Hence an adjective derived from it was eminently suited to be an emphatic possessive postposition meaning 'one's own', 'personal'.

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The obvious difficulty in deriving tanaya 'own' from tanu 'body', person' is in the form. A derivative in -aya arising from a noun in -u may seem surprising, but there are reasons why this is quite feasible. The nouns in -u and $-\bar{u}$, particularly those that were feminine in Sanskrit, as was tanu, comprised a comparatively small number and were therefore liable to changes from an early date. In Prakrit the two types, those with short -u and those with long $-\bar{u}$ were amalgamated. Apart from a few isolated formations such as ajju (from āryā under the influence of śvaśrū 'mother in law'), this type of noun was not on the increase. There was a tendency particularly in Apabhramsa for these -u nouns to add the pleonastic -ka > -ya suffix and to join the more usual type of feminine declension in -a.24 Tanu 'person', 'body' was not one of the words so treated in Prakrit and Apabhramsa. On account of its meaning it was generally found at the end of possessive compounds in the nominative or vocative or at the beginning of other compounds and was therefore not often de-

^{18.} F. Edgerton, "The Indo-European Semivowels", Language, 19, 1943, p. 116; also

^{20.} J. Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 144. The preservation of the u before the suffix is probably due to the persistence of this vowel in N.W. Prakrit even when this is against the normal rules of internal Sandhi. e.g. bahuve = bahavah in the Kharosthi Inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan.

^{23.} It is probable for instance that tanuhei, a word of doubtful interpretation, which occurs in the Paumacariu, ed. Bhayani, vol. I, 8.5.3. represents tanu-bhedin

^{24.} G. V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa, Poona, 1948, p. 178.

84 clined e.g.: tanu-kanti-bhariya-gayan' anganāi 'the beauty of whose body filled all heaven' (Kumārapālapratibodha J. 93). It thus came about that tanu was ultimately no longer considered as a -u stem. In the late Apabhramsa of the Sandesarāsaka it forms a locative singular tani (vs. 187 and 189) and shows every sign of being treated exactly like the ordinary masculine -a declension whose nominative singular ended in -u, and with which it was therefore liable to be confused. There is no doubt, however, that this confusion with the masculine stems in -a belongs to a late stage of Apabhramśa and it would not account entirely for the earliest occurrences of the form tanaya. It seems that several words in -u, both feminine and masculine, formed derivatives even in the Prakrit period in which this final -u did not figure: kangu 'bracelet' has a derivative kangamī of similar meaning; pasu, from Sanskrit paśu 'animal' gave rise to pasaya 'a kind of animal', which is found already in the Jain canonical texts but is sometimes wrongly considered as a Deśī word; teu from tejas forms a derivative teaya; etc. There is thus no morphological objection to a derivation of tanaya from the word tanu 'person', -body'. Part of the reason why the type of formation shown in the North-Western Prakrit, tanuvaka 'one's own', did not become popular over a wider area may be the existence of a homonymous word, the adjective tanu 'little', 'slight'. Tanuvaya was too liable to be associated with tanu 'little', generally lengthened to tanua, which was a widely used word and itself the basis of several other words tanuei 'to weaken', tanuai 'to be weak'. The form tanaya 'one's own' on the other hand did not cause any confusion with any other adjective, it only resembled the noun tanaya 'son', too different in use to lead to any major confusions.

Tanaya 'own' is therefore probably a derivative of tanu 'body', 'person' characteristic of the western and north-western areas of India, and it is reflected as such in Apabhramsa and Old Western Raaisthani as well as modern Gujarati, while some less certain derivatives are found over a wider area. For a period tanaya was felt as an emphatic possessive adjective 'one's own', 'personal' and even in late Apabhramśa and early Gujarati it had not yet undergone all the loss of independence that distinguishes a true postposition. In fact it appears in the Old Gujarati of the Vasantavilāsa-phagu almost as a preposition, being placed before its noun as for instance in ritu tanīya-vasanta 'the season of spring'.7 Tanaya is thus a clear example of a postposition in the making, as yet little affected by the lack of independence and accentuation as well as by the rapid phonetic changes that account for modern postpositions such as ne. which may be derived from it.

The postposition resi, resammi is in quite a different category from tanaya. It is known only from a much smaller range of texts and over a shorter period. It already has all the typical features of a postposition which makes the search for its origins so difficult. Resi(m), resammi appears only in comparatively late Apabhramśa and in very late Prakrit texts influenced by Apabhramśa.25 It is usual in the older texts in Gujarati, e.g. in the Vasantavilāsa-phagu and in some of the poetry from Rajasthan, such as the Dhola-Māru rā Dūhā and the Beli Krisan Rukminī-rī, but it does not appear to have survived right into the modern spoken languages. The meaning of the postposition resi(m) is clear from its earliest occurrences: it is a dative postposition indicating purpose e.g. in the Kumārapālapratibodha S. 49.9, tā vālivi pucchiu samanu, sauna-parikkhana -resi 'they caused the monk to turn back and questioned him in order to test the bird'. Sometimes, as here the word preceding resi(m) is compounded with it and left uninflected, but sometimes the instrumental-locative ending is used before resi(m), as in Hemacandra IV. 425 annahi resi 'for someone else'. Resi appears in various forms: the earliest and most frequent form is resi(m), but resammi and even resimmi are occasionally found. It seems clear that resammi and **resimmi** simply represent resi(m) with the addition of the locative singular ending -(a)immi. This locative singular ending strictly speaking belongs to Prakrit (AMg., JM., JŚ. and M.) but it is found also fairly frequently in Apabhramsa. Long ago Grierson²⁶ discovered similar developments in the modern languages. Giving some tables of modern postpositions he stated: "It is an interesting fact that every dative suffix in the above two tables is identical with the (modern) locative of a genitive suffix." Resammi, resimmi probably represent the first instance of this tendency to mark dative postpositions by the addition of a locative ending. Grierson's statement further helps to elucidate the ultimate origin of resi(m), it strengthens one's suspicion that resi(m) was derived from a very usual and early attested genitive postposition, namely kera < Sanskrit $k\bar{a}rya$. Resi (m) has the general appearance of a genitive plural of a pronominal form: tesim, kesim, annesim, savvesim etc. were the usual genitive plural forms of pronouns in AMg. JM. and JS. and according to Hemacandra (III, 61) they could be used for the feminine as well as the masculine of the genitive plural. Now kera < kārya was not in itself a pronoun, but was used so much with pronouns, particularly in the formation of the possessive pronominal adjectives maha-kera > mera etc., that it was liable to be influenced by the pronominal type of declension. A genitive plural keresim.

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26. G. A. Grierson, op. cit., p. 476.

H. C. Bhayani, "Some Interesting Features of the Prakrit of the Nanapancami-kaha", Bharatiya Vidya Vol. XII, 1951, p. 157.

though apparently not attested at present, does not therefore contravene the normal rules of declension. The elision of the first syllable, keresim > resim is frequent in derivatives of kera and is found for instance in Rajasthani rau < kerau. Resi(m) thus represents the survival of a definite case form and is not an adjectival postposition: in many respects it represents a more advanced state of affairs than tanava. It is therefore also less accented and can never fulfil the function of a preposition as tanaya did in the Vasantavilāsa-phagu. Resi(m), resammi is intimately linked with the noun that it governs: it has become a true postposition.

Both tanaya and resi(m) served at first to give geater emphasis to the meaning of a phrase than was possible by the simple use of endings. This emphatic use is particularly noticeable in tanaya, attested as it is at an earlier date. Gradually with frequent use this emphasis was weakened, and what had been a very expressive construction became ordinary; tanaya and resi(m) became mere postpositions, as usual as the simple endings. Encouraged by the weakening of the declension system, the use of these 'emphatic expressions' thus helped to hasten the further decay of the declension

SOME INDO-ARYAN WORDS MEANING 'ALL'

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'all' in the Indo-European languages, from Brug- Avestan (Avestan hama 'all") that this word had mann's 1 important monograph to recent discussions of the later history of the Latin totus and omnis.2 The main interest of these words lies in some peculiarities of declension and in the great variety of methods of expression. According to e. q., in R. V. 7, 18, 18 sasyantas satravas 'all the Brøndal's a classification the idea of totality in- foes.' śaśvat is even found in the phrase śaśvatīṣu volves four subsidiary notions:

1. Completeness: (Latin totus), 'whole,' 'all.'

2. Universality: (Latin omnis), 'all.'

3. A distributive or iterative meaning: (Latin quisque), 'every,' 'each.'

4. Generality: (Latin quisquam), 'any.'

Languages do not necessarily distinguish between these notions, and even when they do there are frequent transitions from one subsidiary meaning to the other among words used to express totality. The liveliest, most expressive and on the whole most easily replenished group of these words is that which expresses completeness. Often adiectives of completeness tend to be used gradually to express universality, and later they may become iterative or be reduced to a vague general meaning. Such developments have taken place in Indo-Aryan as much as in Romance and elsewhere.

The unaccented word sama was already in process of disappearing in Vedic. It conveyed the meaning of every ' and 'any ' and was sometimes a very weak indefinite pronoun, e.g., in R. V. 9. 29. 5 b samasya kasya cit 'of any' quoted by Wackernagel.4 There are indications from other

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN on words meaning Indo-European languages and particularly from originally designated completeness and univer-

> The Vedic adjective śaśvat 'ever-recurring' sometimes had the meaning of 'all' and 'every,' viksu 'in all the habitations' which is clearly equivalent to the more usual Vedic expression viśvāsu viksu. In the classical language the adjective śaśvat is obsolete but it survives in adverbial form as śaśvat 'always.'

Viśva like sama was probably at first an adjective meaning 'whole.' 5 In Vedic it covered all the subsidiary notions of totality (except to some extent that of generality) and was much used. In later Vedic and the Brāhmaņa period viśva lost ground gradually to sarva and was restricted to fixed locutions and archaising phrases in classical Sanskrit.

Sarva 5ª had originally been yet another adjective indicating completeness as is shown by the cognate Avestan haurva, English whole, etc. It was the most widely used adjective of totality in Sanskrit and covered the subsidiary notions.

Despite the virtual disappearance of the Vedic sama, viśva and the adjective śaśvat, there was no shortage in Classical Sanskrit of words meaning 'all.' though they expressed mainly the subsidiary notion of completeness. The most important of these words was sakala, which has sometimes also assumed a universal and distributive meaning. More definitely restricted to the sense of completeness were samasta, samagra, akhila and sampūrna.

Middle Indo-Aryan in this respect, as in other features of vocabulary resembles Sanskrit rather than Vedic. Descendants of viśva therefore occur but rarely and then only in specialised usages:

1 K. Brugmann, Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der

Totalität in den indogermanischen Sprachen. Progr.

⁽Leipzig, 1893-4). ² S. Andersson, Études sur la syntaxe et la sémantique du mot français 'tout.' Etudes Romanes de Lund (Lund, 1954).

^{*} V. Brøndal, 'Omnis et Totus: analyse et étymologie.' Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. H. Pedersen. Acta Jutlandica, Aarskrift for Aarhus Universitet (1937).

J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, III (Göttingen 1930), 582.

⁵ J. Wackernagel, ibid. refers to Zubaty I. F., XXV,

⁵ª See also J. Gonda, 'Reflections on Sarva- in Vedic Texts,' Chatterji Jubilee Volume, Indian Linguistics 16 (1955).

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and Māhārāstrī and occurs also in proper names in the canon, e. q., Visasena in the Sūvagadanga, 1. 6. 22. As in Sanskrit there is no sign in the literary Prakrits of descendants of Vedic sama and of the adjective śaśvat.

In Middle Indo-Arvan it was the descendants of sarva that were most frequently used to express totality. Of the Sanskrit words that denoted the subsidiary notion of completeness akhila does not seem to have been popular in Middle Indo-Aryan. It was used mainly in stylised works such as the Gaudavāho where it occurs in the form ahila and it was also occasionally used as a tatsama in other texts. Sayala, sagala < sakala was more common. but in quite a few cases it also appears as a tatsama or semi-tatsama. Sanskrit samasta became samattha in Prakrit by the ordinary phonetic development. This word was too much alike in form and meaning with samatta < samāpta 'complete,' 'finished' not to be confused with it. How complete this confusion was can be seen from the fact that Hemacandra derived samatta from samasta and endeavored to explain this by an unusual change of -st- to -tt- instead of -tth-(Hemacandra 2.45). As a result of this confusion the Prakrit derivatives of samasta did not become important as adjectives of totality. Sampunna < sampūrna was still felt as a compound of pūrna 'full' and was therefore kept more in the specialised sense of 'complete,' 'full' rather than as an ordinary adjective of totality, while samagga < samagra also does not seem to have become usual or popular.

There was thus in Middle Indo-Arvan only one word that covered all the subsidiary notions of totality: Prakrit savva, Pali sabba, while sayala and some less usual words ahila, samagga and samatta indicated completeness. Late Apabhramsa texts show the emergence of a new adjective of

vissa < viśva is found in some archaising formulae totality, sāhu. This word is given by Hemacandra in Pali.6 In Jaina Prakrit it is usual only in in the rule sarvasya sāho (4.366) 'sāhu is optionproper names, e.g., Vissasena and Vissabhūi, ally substituted for sarva.' It also occurs in a which are mentioned a number of times in the verse quoted under this rule. This verse is almost Svetāmbara canon. The form vīsa < viśva is due identical with verse 88 of the earlier Pāhudadohā 8 to a sporadic sound change in Ardha-Māgadhī of Rāmasimha, though there sayalu is used instead of sāhu. Sāhu is found a few times in the plural but on the whole it is an adjective of completeness occurring mainly in the singular and it is not much declined. Savve, savvi < sarve is used for the plural and also indicates the subsidiary notions of totality. In some later texts, such as the Paumasiricariu of Dhāhila and the Carcarī of Jinadatta sahu appears with a short a and the Old Gujarati form corresponding to it is sahu. There is still some uncertainty as to the origin of this

The most widely accepted theory is that of Pischel who derives sāhu from Sanskrit śaśvat. To strengthen this theory Berger 10 quotes an intermediate form sāsa. Tessitori,11 Modi 12 and others follow a similar explanation to that of

Hemacandra equated the word sāhu with sarva, and this view was taken up again by Dave 13 who derived the Old Gujarati sahu from Sanskrit sarva, Pkt. savva, Apabhramsa sava, with the addition of hu, a derivative of the Sanskrit particle khalu used for emphasis.

Although it has gained the support of so many scholars the theory that sasvat became sahu in Apabhramsa has a number of weaknesses. Some of these are phonetic. Berger (loc. cit.) stated that the lengthening of the a was not clear, but there are plenty of parallel cases (e.g., those quoted by Pischel, loc. cit.), and it seems that the simplification of a sibilant plus -r- or -v- with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel was not unusual in Ardha-Māgadhī, Jain Māhārāstrī and Māhārāstrī (cf. vīsa for viśa quoted previ-

ously). More serious is the objection that sāhu, sahu appears always as such. There is no indication anywhere that the -h- had originally been a sibilant although the word is particularly well established in areas where the change of s to h made least impact (Gujarat). One might argue that this was a case where the change of s to h was facilitated by the presence of another sibilant which caused dissimilation. The most obvious example of such a development that could be cited is the verb *śās- 'to tell' which nearly always appears as sāh -rather than sās- in Middle Indo-Aryan. Such a dissimilation is not impossible for śaśvat > *sāsa. Nevertheless the complete absence of forms of this word with a simple -s- or of any other intermediate form 14 makes the derivation of sāhu from śaśvat unlikely.

Pischel and those who followed his explanation were concerned mainly with phonetic development and did not state clearly whether they thought of the Vedic adjective śaśvat- 'ever-recurring,' 'all,' or of the Classical Sanskrit adverb śaśvat 'always' as the antecedent of sāhu. In either case there are difficulties. Apabhramśa sāhu is rarely declined, and this might lead one to regard the Classical Sanskrit adverb śaśvat as its most probable source, but the change of meaning from 'always' to 'complete, entire, all' cannot claim widespread support from parallel developments. The Vedic adjective śaśvat- 'all' offers no semantic difficulof the late Apabhramśa sāhu; so-called Vedic survivals 15 that never penetrated into the literary works of Sanskrit, Prakrit or even early Apabhramsa are open to grave doubts.

The difficulties that lie in the way of the more popular explanation do not however vindicate the alternative theory put forward by Dave. The phonetic development of sarva + khalu to sāhu is not clear, particularly as there is no indication that such a combination was frequent either at the Prakrit or the Apabhramsa stage of Indo-Aryan.

Sāhu, sahu makes its appearance so late in Apabhramśa that it may well be a formation within Apabhramsa itself rather than an inherited form. There is evidence in the Apabhramsa texts to support this view.

Already in earlier Apabhramśa literature there are signs of some phonetic irregularities in the development of sarva 'all,' probably owing to the frequent unaccented use of the word. There was reduction of the double consonant to a single consonant, sometimes, as one might expect, 16 with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, sometimes without. In the Western Apabhramsa of the Pāhuḍadohā and the Bhavisatta-kahā we therefore find sava as well as the phonetically regular savva, while the Paumacariu and the later Sandeśarāsaka have sāva, sāvu. The nominative and accusative singular masculine and neuter is sometimes distinguished further by the loss of the single -v- before the final -u, and we find sau 17 as well as sāvu in the Paumacariu.

The introduction of h into $s\bar{a}u < sarva$ is probties,, but is even less probable as a direct ancestor ably connected with a morphological peculiarity of this word, which had always had close links in declension with the pronouns. A pronominal ending -hu is found frequently in both Western and Southern Apabhramsa and also the so-called Eastern Apabhramśa of the Bauddha Gan o Dohā. It belongs primarily to the nominative and accusative singular masculine (in Western Apabhramśa also neuter) of the demonstrative pronoun ehu < Sanskrit eşa, and it was extended from there. It has been introduced into the nominative singular of the second person pronoun tuhu(m) in Apabhramsa.18 The final -hu appears further in Apabhramsa uhu, ohu which has been formed on the analogy of ehu and which Dr.

⁶ The Pali formula vissam dhammam quoted in this respect by J. Wackernagel, loc. cit., was even misunderstood by the commentator of the Dhammapada, so unknown was vissam < viśvam. Cf. W. Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache (Strassburg 1916), § 113.

⁷ R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen (Strassburg 1900), § 64.

⁸ G. V. Tagare in his Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa (Poona 1948), p. 447 quotes sahu as occurring in verse 89 of this text, but H. L. Jain's edition has

⁹ R. Pischel, op. cit., §§ 64 and 262.

¹⁰ H. Berger, Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre (Munich 1955), p. 80.

¹¹ L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani' Indian Antiquary, 1914-16, \$ 96.

¹² Gurjararāsāvalī. Edited by Thakore, Desai and M. C. Modi (Baroda 1956). Glossary, s. v. sahu.

¹³ T. N. Dave, A study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th century (London 1935), p. 35 and p. 190.

¹⁴ There is a doubtful occurrence of sassa 'always < śaśvat in an extract from Tribhuvana Svayambhū in the Apabhramśapāṭhāvalī of M. C. Modi (Ahmedabad 1935), p. 66 v. 143, but this provides no link in form or meaning. The adjective śāśvata, based on śaśvat is found in both Prakrit and Apabhramsa as sāsaya 'everlasting,' but not as *sāhaya. This would indicate that Apabhramśa sāhu 'all is probably unconnected with this group of words.

¹⁵ Examples of Vedic survivals in Apabhramsa are sometimes quoted, such as kidha, Prakrit kiha, Vedic kathā. Most of these examples admit of other explanations: e.g., Vedic nakīm and mākīm are believed to have given nāim and māim; yet māim, like sāhu is not attested until Hemacandra. Māim was probably not derived directly from makim; it was formed on the analogy of the Prakrit nāim, which itself is unlikely to be derived from the Vedic nakim (cf. JRAS, 1959,

¹⁶ R. Pischel, op. cit., § 87.

¹⁷ Paumacariu of Svayambhū, edited by H. C. Bhayani (Bombay 1953), I, 16.8.3. and II, 54.12.1.

¹⁸ Phakkī tuham does not seem to be connected with the Apabhramsa forms: it is an isolated development due to the influence of the first person pronoun aham.

noun keha, as well as jeha and teha were also based on ehu > Old Western Rajasthani eha. The change of the nominative-accusative masculine and neuter sāu 'all' to sāhu was parallel to all these developments and due to the influence of ehu. The insertion of -h- separated sāhu < sāu from the rest of the declension of savva < sarva. Being a singular sāhu was naturally used more to express completeness, while the plural savve < sarve expressed universality. Ultimately this must have given the speaker the illusion, shared by Pischel and others, that sāhu was quite a separate adjective of completeness, unconnected with savve < sarve, and that its introduction into literary Apabhramsa had been favoured by the comparative scarcity of surviving adjectives of totality. We have thus the curious case of an old adjective of universality and totality in general, savva < sarva splitting into two to form savve, savvi, etc., 'all" and sāhu 'whole.'

One of the peculiarities of both sāhu and savve is the lack of declension. This has nothing to do with any possibility of a derivation from śaśvat; it is a general feature of the adjectives of totality. There are correspondences to this in other languages e.g., French. The usage originated from the tendency of the word for 'all' to imply 'altogether' or 'completely' and to approximate in this way to an adverb. This comes about especially when the word for 'all' is used with another adjective or a past participle. The beginnings of such a development can be seen for instance in the Paumacariu VII. 7. 4: kiu pārāutthau sennu sāvu-'the whole army was turned back' or 'the army was completely turned back.' Lack of declension continued in the modern Indo-Arvan languages 21 and as noted by Tessitori it was particularly noticeable in Old Western Rajasthani; in Modern Gujarati sāv < sarva has in fact become an adverb.

Šāhu was not frequent in Apabhramśa but it seems to have increased in importance in Old

19 H. C. Bhayani, 'Vah, moțiyar aur bhap (bhaph).'

Bhayani¹⁹ has shown to be the antecedent of the modern Hindi vah. L. P. Tessitori ²⁰ suggested that the Old Western Rajasthani indefinite pronoun keha, as well as jeha and teha were also based on ehu > Old Western Rajasthani eha. The western Rajasthani and especially in Gujarati, often with the addition of the emphatic particle -u, hence $sah\bar{u}$. Although it ultimately survived only in this limited area (cf. modern Gujarati sau) it has left traces of its influence elsewhere.

Sanskrit sakala 'whole,' 'all 'appears as a semitatsama sagala in Apabhramsa, but in Old Western Rajasthani more frequently as saghala. The aspiration caused Dave to explain this word as derived from Sanskrit ślāghya 'praiseworthy' which involves a highly improbable change of meaning. It seems much more plausible that the aspirated consonant was brought about by the coexistance of the word sagala 'whole' with sahu. sahu of identical meaning. It is also possible that a similar influence accounts for other irregular aspirations in words meaning 'all.' Modern Indo-Aryan sab < sarva appears over a large part of Northern India as sabh. Such forms including the curious sambha occur already in the text of the Pākārnava. S. K. Chatterji 22 suggested that this might be due to the influence of the tatsama sabhā 'assembly,' but the possibility remains that the Apabhramsa sāhu, sahu was the cause of this aspirate consonant too.

As sahu 'whole,' Gujarati sau survives only in such a limited area one would expect to find in Modern Indo-Aryan the introduction of some new adjective indicating the notion of completeness. This has happened with the use of derivatives of the Sanskrit sāra: cf. Hindi, Bengali, Panjabi, Lahndā etc. sārā 23 'whole,' 'all.' The beginning of the gradual change of meaning of Sanskrit sāra 'essence,' 'best part' to 'whole,' 'all.' is already noticeable in Apabhramśa, e.g. in the Kumārapālapratibodha of Somaprabha (Sthūlabhadrakathā 14.1-2 in L. Alsdorf's edition):

jasu ahara-hariya-sōhagga-sāru nam vidduma sēvai jalahi khāru;

'the coral resorts to the bitter ocean, as the best part of its beauty (or 'all its beauty') has been surpassed by her lips,' and 59. 1-2:

> mahu-mahuru caēvi nivāhigāru pēranta-viḍambaṇa dukkha-sāru

'having abandoned the service of the king which (apparently) is as sweet as honey, but which in the end brings blame and which is really all sorrow' (Alsdorf: 'in Wahrheit nur Leiden'). One can see how close this type of phrase is to Hindi usage, particularly in cases where Hindi sārā is followed by its noun: e.g., nisi sāri 'the whole night' (Padumawatī, edited by Laksmī Dhar 44.2.).

It thus becomes clear that in spite of the interesting and unusual development of sāhu, sahu 'whole,' 'complete' from savva 'all' in Apabhramśa, Indo-Aryan follows a general scheme of development in which words meaning 'all' are constantly supplemented and ultimately supplanted by words meaning 'whole' or 'complete.'

Maru Bhāratī (1958), p. 59.

20 There is a variant explanation for some of these forms given by M. C. Modi Gurjararāsāvalī, Glossary, s. v. keha, where he suggests that the particle hu < Bet

forms given by M. C. Modi Gurjararāsāvalī, Glossary, s.v. keha, where he suggests that the particle hu < Sanskrit khalu was added to the pronominal base. Tessitori's explanation op. cit., § 88 is more convincing.

²¹ Cf., for instance, Barburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Awadhi* (Allahabad 1937), p. 205.

²² S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (Calcutta 1926), p. 319.

²³ J. Bloch in La formation de la langue marathe (Paris 1920). Glossary, s. v., sārā explains this word as cognate with Sanskrit sarva, but this theory has not been usually accepted.

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"The emotive aspect of word-meaning is even more variable and unstable than its cognitive side" —in this and similar statements it has often been pointed out that those parts of speech which are emotive, emphatic particles and exclamations in particular, are very variable in their use. They do not form part of any regular system, as do declensional and conjugational forms and they are therefore more liable to sporadic alterations: They are sometimes used too much and then fall out of favour again according to the demands of fashion and even according to individual taste. This is shown by the loss in English of expressions such as "verily", "in sooth", and exclamations such as the angry "sirrah". Similar and constant changes are noticeable even in a country of profound respect for the past such as India. The study of this ephemeral type of usage is beset with difficulties as can be shown by an examination of the Middle Indo-Aryan particle je, used with the infinitive.

The type of infinitive that occurs most frequently in the Svetāmbara Jain canon is that in -ttae. The infinitive in -um, -ium derived from the Sanskrit -(i)tum is less usual, but gradually becomes more frequent in the later portions of the canon. It is sometimes associated with the particle je as in bhareum je, kareum je found in the Uttarādhyayanasūtra (19,40). There are also isolated examples of the infinitive in -um followed by the particle je in the Panhāvāgaranāim, and there is one instance in the Nāyādhammakahāo (I. 9.). This usage persists in some of the later Jain Māhārāstrī texts, such as the Paumacariya, the Samarāiccakahā, the Dhūrtākhyāna and the Kuvalayamālā. The usage is particularly frequent in Jain Saurasenī, for instance in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā and the $M\bar{u}l\bar{a}c\bar{a}ra$. On the other hand the infinitive with je is missing from some of the other narrative texts, notably the Vasudevahindi and the Jambucariya; it is practically unknown in standard classical Māhārāstrī and occurs only once in a text of the extent of the Rāvaṇavaho (kāuṃ je, 4.36), and also once in Hāla and then only as a variant reading, while it is completely absent from the Vajjālaggam. The fact that this usage was not generally current in Māhārāṣṭrī, the prakṛṣṭam prākṛtam, led to its omission from the grammar of Vararuci, and it therefore also tended to be ignored by the modern grammars. Hemacandra mentions the emphatic particle je (II. 217), but not its use with the infinitive. He does however give an example of the use of *je* with the infinitive, the example being the variant reading from Hāla. In modern grammars the special use of the particle *je* with the infinitive is barely mentioned anywhere except in the works of Schubring,² S. Sen³ and A. N. Upadhye⁴ and H. C. Bhayani.⁵

One of the most striking features of the particle je when used with the infinitive is that it does not at first sight appear to add to the meaning of the sentence. Thus in the Jain Saurasenī of the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā (p. 362 of the edition in the Muniśrī Anantakīrti Series), one finds a succession of phrases containing infinitives, some with the particle je and some without it: pāso va baddhidum je, chittum mahilā asī va purisassa; sellam va bindhidum je, panko nimajjidum mahilā, 'woman is like a fetter for tying a man, like a sword for hewing him down, like a dart for piercing him, like a quagmire for drowning him'. This alternation is noticeable even in the earliest texts where the infinitive with je is found, e.g. in the Uttarā-dhyayanasūtra 19, 40: jahā aggisihā dittā pāum hoi sudukkarā, tahā dukkaram kareum je, tārunne samanattaņam, 'just as it is difficult to control a fiery flame that has been lit, it is difficult to be an ascetic in one's youth'.

It becomes clear even from a few examples that the infinitive always precedes the particle je, which has therefore been considered enclitic.4 In fact the position of je is nearly always final. It occurs at the end of the sentence in prose, e.g. in the Kuvalayamālā (p. 111 of the edition in the Singhi Jain Series): tā na juttam mama jīvium je 'therefore it is not right that I should live', and p. 108, jalanihī na tīrae langheum je 'it is impossible to cross the ocean'. In poetry the characteristic position of je is at the end of a verse or half-verse: in the examples quoted from the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā and the Uttarādhyayanasūtra three of the half-verses end in baddhidum je, bindhidum je, and kareum je, but there is no je after chittum, nimajjidum and pāum, where it would not be in a final position. Seeing that it concluded a phrase, je was never used with an infinitive that depended on a following adjective or past participle. This means that it is completely absent⁶ in the frequent type of phrase kareum payatto (or pautto), kareum samādhatto, 'having set out to do something'. and kareum vavasiya 'having decided to do something'. It is similarly excluded from any other type of expression where the infinitive is closely linked with the following word.

It therefore becomes apparent in both prose and verse that the particle *je* when used after the infinitive conveyed a final emphasis: the particle singled out the infinitive from the remainder of the sentence. As is so often the case with particles, *je* soon lost its empha-

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tic significance, and began to be treated as a mere adjunct to the infinitive form. Although in its earlier appearances it had been exclusively used with the infinitive as such, and only in a final position, it occurs in the later Jain Māhārāṣtrī of the Nāṇapaṃcamīkahā⁵ with an infinitive form that is actualy used in the meaning of an absolutive, $k\bar{a}um$ je (I. 79). It was also extended to other positions in the sentence. In Apabhraṃśa and in texts influenced by Apabhraṃśa je appears in the weakened form ji and figures as a mere expletive anywhere in the sentence, mainly after pronouns, particularly in the expression so je, so ji, equivalent to 'he indeed' or 'just he'. The word is therefore listed by Hemacandra as a mere expletive (je in 2.217, and ji in 4.420), and it has survived as such in the modern Gujarati -j.

The original emphatic meaning is in keeping with the etymology of the particle je. There is no doubt whatever that je developed from the Prakrit jeva, jjeva 'thus', 'indeed', and that this form jeva came from the Sanskrit eva 'thus', 'actually', 'indeed', which was generally used in Sanskrit to lend emphasis to the word that preceded it. It is the details of the irregular phonetic development of eva to jeva and je that are most complex.

In order to retain their emotive and emphatic value, particles tend to be reinforced. There are two major ways in which such reinforcement takes place, and this can be illustrated from Indo-Aryan as well as elsewhere:

- 1. New sounds are added to the particles to strengthen them, and the source of the new sounds is not always clear (e.g. Latin tantum gives Old French *i-tant* 'so much').
- 2. Two or more particles are heaped together so that their cumulative force is felt, as for instance with the postpositive particle vai which forms ha sma vai, and ha vai in Vedic and later eva vai, api vai, tu vai etc. Similarly the Latin particle sic 'thus' is strengthened by in to give in sic, whence Old French ensi, modern ainsi 'thus'.

Both these types of reinforcement have been suggested by scholars in attempts to explain the development of eva to jeva, je. According to those who favour the first theory, jeva represents the normal phonetic development from an earlier word jeva 'thus' which is found in Pali and in the Aśokan inscriptions. Geiger jeva suggested that the initial jeva of this word was a jeva consonant, which was inserted before jeva if the preceding word ended with a vowel or with jeva. He quoted other words which he thought showed the introduction of such a jeva consonant in similar circumstances. In the case of jeva jeva, je this would agree quite well

with the usage found in the Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī texts where je generally follows the $anusv\bar{a}ra$ of the infinitive. There are cases where other consonants appear to have been inserted before eva: there was a tendency in Aśokan Prakrit to add h before this word, 10 and hevam, hemeva therefore appear occasionally, mainly in inscriptions of eastern provenance. The main weakness of the theory of Geiger is that there are no true parallel examples of the insertion of a $sandhi\ y$ in Middle Indo-Aryan at the beginning of any word other than eva. As pointed out already by Edgerton 11 the parallel cases quoted by Geiger are in fact to be explained by quite different causes, and the Pali form yeva > Prakrit jeva, je therefore stands quite isolated.

There have been attempts to explain the Prakrit word jeva, je according to the second process of reinforcement which is so frequent in the case of particles, namely the accumulation of particles. According to this theory jeva is not directly connected with the Pali yeva, but is derived from two particles, ca and eva which normally gave ceva, ccia. 12 The Asokan forms hevam etc. could come from a similar accumulation of particles, ha + eva > heva. There is no doubt that the compound particle ceva, ccia was in fact often used in Prakrit for emphasis; there is even one instance in the text of Hāla (v. 524) where there is hesitation between je and ccia after an infinitive. The parallel between the two forms is continued later, when $ccia > \text{Old Marathi}\ ci$ survives as the modern Marathi -c, while je, Apabhramśa ji survives as the modern Gujarati -j. But it is probable that the similarity arose mainly from the fact that ccia, ceva > ca - eva and jeva, je were both derived from eva. The close resemblance between ceva, ccia and jeva, je does not necessarily imply that there was a direct link between the two words and that jeva was in fact a derivative of ceva < ca + eva. The derivation of jeva from ceva is quite possible phonetically, as weakening of the initial c to j would not be out of place in an enclitic particle. 13 The main difficulty of this explanation however is that the Pali word yeva, which appears to be inseparable from the Prakrit jeva, je, is left unaccounted for: Pali yeva cannot be derived from ceva < ca + eva.

This means that we must return to the first explanation and the theory of the intrusive consonant. As the absence of parallel developments makes it unlikely that the y of yeva < eva was a sandhi consonant, another phonetic cause might seem possible. The Aśokan texts, particularly the eastern inscriptions and inscriptions under eastern influence show some forms that are closely related to this problem. In the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada inscrip-

tions for instance there are on the one hand some relative pronouns and derivatives of relative pronouns which have lost their initial y: ata < yatra, athā < yathā, āva < yāvat, ādisa < yādrśa, e < ye, ena < yena, and am for the relative particle yad. On the other hand precisely in the same inscriptions eva sometimes appears as yeva. This characteristic of the eastern inscriptions is still found in the later inscriptions from Udayagiri. 14 There is little doubt that the pronunciation of initial y was particularly weak in the eastern dialects: initial u stayed as a weak v and did not become the affricate j in the Māgadhī of the classical dramas. This situation may well have led to some uncertainty as to where the initial y should be pronounced. But in the Aśokan inscriptions the sporadic loss of the initial y is confined to the relative pronoun, and the introduction of y- to the pronominal particle eva > yeva. It seems therefore that the weak pronunciation of initial y- was associated in the East with a temporary tendency for confusion between the relative pronouns of proximity with the base a-, i-. It is very unlikely that this confusion was ever very widespread, except in the lowest strata of the language, and it therefore barely penetrated into literary usage: the clear system of relative, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns was probably very soon reestablished. There is however nothing unusual in such a tendency, which has parallels outside Indo-Aryan and perhaps even in Indo-Aryan (Pashai). 15 It is only among the adverbs that this confusion left any clear marks at all: there are numerous instances in Ardha-Māgadhī of the loss of the initial y- of relative adverbs. Thus $\bar{a}im$ occurs for $j\bar{a}im$ yāni as a relative adverb in the canon (e.g. in the Nāyādhammakahāo and the Bhagavatīsūtra), and particularly usual in Ardha-Māgadhī are $ah\bar{a} < yath\bar{a}$ and $\bar{a}va < y\bar{a}vat$ in compounds such as ahāriham < yathārham and āvakaham < yāvatkatham, while the adverb $\bar{a}va < y\bar{a}vat$ is also used independently. 16 In the case of the particle eva, however, the longer form with the historically unjustified y-, borrowed from the relative pronouns was favoured. mainly because such a longer form was more expressive and suited as an emphatic particle. The development of eva to yeva < jeva, je, may thus be considered to be an example of the insertion of an intrusive consonant in an adverb: the presence of this consonant may be explained by the phonetic weakness of y in the East combined with a temporary confusion between the relative and demonstrative pronouns.

Through excessive use, particularly in an enclitic position the particle *jeva* tended to be pronounced with the second syllable slurred and it gradually became *je*, while the full form *jeva* was preserv-

ed in more accented positions in the sentence. There are other examples of the loss of entire syllables in particles in Middle Indo-Aryan, as in khu < khalu. There may even be an exact parallel to to the development of je from jeva, namely in the exclamatory de, which is very frequent as an interjection in just a few Jain narrative texts, especially in the $Kuvalayam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$. Although Hemacandra mentions (2.196) that this word could be used to address a female, the texts show that it was used as a general emphatic exclamation. It is therefore possible that de developed from the vocative deva when used as an exclamation, just as je came from jeva used enclitically.

Apart from its use with infinitives and later as a mere expletive, the particle je may have had another and more specific use in the exclamation and form of address hanje. The exclamations and forms of address resemble the emphatic particles, they show similar irregularities in their phonetic development and have the same tendency for reinforcement, particularly by accumulation of particles. One of the more usual forms of address in Sanskrit is hanta 'come on', which also figured as an interjection to express surprise, joy and grief. It is still used in Pali and in Ardha-Māgadhī, sometimes with phonetic weakening as handa (in the $Therigath\bar{a}$ and in the $\bar{A}y\bar{a}ra\dot{n}gasutta$) and sometimes with the further addition of the intensive particle ha as in handaha (Āyāraṅgasutta II. 1.11). Much rarer is the form ham, which is found as an interjection, or is combined with ho, bho, and used as a form of address, hambho, hamho 'hallo'. Handi which appears in Ardha-Māgadhī and in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī as an exclamatory particle is so much like handa 'come on', that it gives the appearance of being a variant of this word; but Pischel¹⁷ has explained it as being derived from ham, strengthened by the addition of the particle iti 'thus'. There is a possibility that the particle je was also used in conjunction with the exclamation ham to form hanje. The fact that this word is used exclusively to address female servants in the drama may be due to the final -e, which gave the particle the appearance of being a feminine vocative form, as is found for instance in ambe 'mother'. Hañie is used as a general exclamation in stage conversations with a female slave, e.g., in the Mālavikāgnimitra (Act III): hamje, me calanā annado na pavaṭṭanti, which one might translate as 'alas, my feet will go no further'. It is also used in conjunction with the name of the female attendant as a form of address, e.g. (ibid.); hamje Ņiunie, 'o you there, Nipuņikā'. In view of its highly stylised usage hañje was probably not current in really popular speech, and it is not represented in Apabhramsa or the modern languages.

The word je in Prakrit therefore shows some of the intricacies which are so typical of particles. It was derived by a complex and

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irregular development from the Sanskrit word eva 'indeed', via the intermediate forms yeva and jeva. It was most unstable in use, varying from an emphatic form to an expletive; on the one hand it could be combined with ham as hanje, a slightly disdainful form of address, and have a highly specialised use, and on the other hand it could be used on its own, as in later Prakrit and Apabhramsa where it occurred very generally, and was practically meaningless.

S. Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics (Glasgow, 1951), p. 104. W. Schubring, Das Mahānisīhasutta (Berlin, 1918), p. 92.

S. Sen, A Critical Introduction to the Panhāvāgaranāim (Würzburg, 1939),

p. 13.
Dhūrtākhyāna, edited by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay, 1944), p. 53.
Dhūrtākhyāna, edited by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay, 1944), p. 53.
H. C. Bhayani, "Some interesting features of the Prakrit of the Nāṇapamoa-mīkahā", Bharatiya Vidya XII (1951), p. 161.
There is one example in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of the form yeva being used in this position, gantum yevādhyavasito 'he is determined to go', which is quoted by Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (New Haven,

T. N. Dave, A Study of the Gujarati Language in the 16th Century (London,

1935), glossary s.v. ja. R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen (Strassburg, 1900), p. 229.

W. Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache (Strassburg, 1900), p. 229.

J. Bloch, Les Inspriptions d' Asoka (Paris, 1950), p. 52.

F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (New Haven, 1953), p. 37. H. C. Bhayani, "Prince of Wales Museum Stone Inscription from Dhar", Bharatiya Vidya XIX (1959), p. 118. cf. the occasional weakening of the particle ca to ya in Prakrit, Pischel,

op. cit., p. 135. M. A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits (Poona, 1948),

J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryan (Paris, 1934), p. 200-201.

Further examples are given by R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 229.

17. R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 190.

NOTES ON SOME WORDS MEANING "IMMEDIATELY" IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. Schwarzschild

ONE OF THE major advantages of the study of synonyms is that it provides a link between descriptive and historical linguistics. In Professor Ullmann's words: "Synonymic structure implies the formation of associative groups between senses on the 'langue' level. The firmness and constancy of such associations can best be gauged from the diachronistic developments which they may initiate." 1 Among the first words to be studied from this point of view were the Middle English adverbs which meant "swiftly" and later "immediately".2 Words of this meaning are of interest also in Middle Indo-Aryan where they form a closely-knit group. This is proved by their formal as well as their semantic development.

Probably the most important words of this group are the derivatives of Sanskrit sahasā. Being the instrumental case of sahas "force", sahasā was used adverbially and meant in Vedic "forcibly" and hence "suddenly", "all at once", "on the spot".3 In late Classical Sanskrit it developed the further meaning of "rashly", but this late meaning is not reflected in Middle Indo-Aryan. There is at first sight nothing curious about the development of sahasā in Middle Indo-Aryan where it becomes quite normally sahas \bar{a} , with optional shortening of the final $-\bar{a}$ as usual in adverbs. But on reading a well-known Māhārāstrī text such as the Vajjālaggam one is surprised to find that sahasa 5 is followed by the particle tti from Sanskrit iti "thus". The same characteristic is found in other Māhārāstrī texts, e.g. the Līlāvaīkahā, where sahasa is followed by -tti whenever it appears with a short final, and this sahasa-tti is more usual than the simple sahasā. Sahasa-tti is very frequent in Jain Māhārāstrī texts and is used almost to the exclusion of sahasa in the Apabhramsa texts of both Southern and Western

¹ S. Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics (Glasgow, 1951), p. 111.

² G. Stern, "Swift, swiftly" and their Synonyms, A Contribution to Semantic Analysis and Theory. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, xvii (Göteborg, 1921).

³ For a similar semantic change cf. Buddhist Sanskrit pratigaty eva quoted by L. Renou, JA., ecxlvii (1959), p. 261.

⁴ R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen (Strassburg, 1900), § 113.

⁵ Vajjālaggam, ed. J. Laber, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1944), v. 388.

provenance, e.g. in the Harivamsapurāna of Puspadanta, and the Paumasiricariu of Dhāhila.

As -tti is an enclitic particle one might assume that it has simply been added to lift the preceding word out of its context for emphasis, so that sahasa-tti might be translated as "very suddenly". It is tempting to compare sahasa-cciya "very suddenly" which is found occasionally in Jain Māhārāṣṭriī, e.g. in the Ausgewählte Erzählungen edited by H. Jacobi. But such an explanation is impossible. Even in those dialects where sahasa-tti is so usual, e.g. in the Māhārāṣṭrī of the Līlāvaīkahā there has been no extension of the use of -tti. Apart from its occurrence with sahasa it appears only where Sanskrit would have it, that is to mark the end of any quotation of names, words, thoughts, or sounds. Nowhere is there any laxity in the use of -tti which might explain the formation of sahasa-tti. The origin of sahasa-tti becomes clearer only when one examines some of the other words meaning "suddenly", "immediately" in Middle Indo-Aryan. The word which most obviously springs to mind is Sanskrit jhatiti, Middle Indo-Aryan jhadatti, jhaditti, and jhatti, "suddenly," "immediately," but the history of this word in Indo-Aryan is also not simple.

It is generally agreed that jhatiti is derived from *jhat "knock", "sudden movement", with the addition of the particle iti. Such is the view of Wackernagel, Turner, and Mayrhofer. *Jhat is presumed to be of onomatopoeic origin.4 Some difficulties are involved in the assumption that jhatiti was formed within Sanskrit itself. In Sanskrit the combination with iti was peculiar to jhatiti and the rare variant jhagiti and was otherwise confined to definitely imitative words where the quotation with iti was justified, as for instance in tadad-iti "bang". Such words had no meaning apart from the idea of noise that they conveyed and did not form part of the normal vocabulary. Jhatiti, on the other hand, did not convey any idea of noise in Sanskrit; it was an ordinary adverb used in much the same way as sahasā, anantaram, etc. The isolated position

of *jhatiti* in Sanskrit and its late appearance make it probable that this word was a remodelled borrowing from the popular languages and that it was formed in Prakrit as jhadatti, the form in which it is first attested.

Jhadatti was by no means a unique formation in Prakrit. Already in some of the comparatively early parts of the Svetāmbara Jain canon, such as the Nāyādhammakahāo, there appears a word dhasatti which is used in connection with a heavy fall. This word is linked with the Prakrit verb dhasai "to fall", modern Hindi dhasnā "to collapse". Dhasai may have been an independent onomatopoeic formation, or it may be derived from Sanskrit dhvamsati (> Prakrit dhamsai) "to fall", under the influence of parts of the verb that had no nasal, such as the past participle passive dhvasta.1 Whatever its origin, dhasai was certainly felt to be onomatopoeic in Middle Indo-Aryan and meant "to fall with a heavy thud". This fact is illustrated further by various other highly expressive derivatives: dhasakka "a thumping noise", dhasakkei "to make a thumping noise", Hindi dhasaknā "to sink (of land)", and Prakrit dhasattei " to topple over ", which is found in the anonymous Manipaticarita of the eighth or ninth century.² Dhasa-tti thus literally meant "making the sound dhasa", i.e. "with a crash", and it shows every sign of a colloquial and possibly slang origin. Dhasatti is frequent in the language of the Jain canon and there is a fixed formula: dhasatti dharaniyalamsi savvamgehim samnivadie "he fell flat on the ground with a crash". This occurs, for instance, in the Nirayāvaliyāo, where it refers to Kūnika who is smitten by remorse on realizing that he has caused the death of his father. Sometimes one may be justified in assuming that dhasatti conveys the idea of speed as well as noise, as, for instance, in another example from the Nirayāvaliyāo v. 12: sā Kalī Devī . . . parasuniyattā viva campagalayā dhasatti dharaniyalamsi samnivadiyā, "Queen Kali fell flat on the ground suddenly, like a campaka-creeper felled by an axe." In this case it is clearly the idea of suddenness rather than that of a heavy thud that is being emphasized, and dhasatti might well be translated by "suddenly" or "straight away".

Jhadatti is very similar in formation to dhasatti. It is connected

¹ J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1957), vol. ii,

² R. L. Turner, A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Lanquage (London, 1931), s.v. jhatta or jhat.

³ M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen (Heidelberg, 1953 ff.), s.v. jhatiti.

⁴ The possible Munda origin of some of these onomatopoeia has often been stressed by Professor F. B. J. Kuiper, e.g. in Zeitschr. Indol. 8, p. 241.

¹ See Gurjararāsāvalī, ed. B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai, and M. C. Modi (Baroda, 1956), glossary s.v. dhasaim.

² Two Prakrit Versions of the Manipati-Carita, ed. R. Williams (London, 1959),

with the Prakrit verb jhadai "to collapse", which is of onomatopoeic origin from *jhat "knock", "sudden movement" (see above). As in the case of dhasai the onomatopoeic quality of the verb is continued in some of the very expressive derivatives, e.g. Apabhramśa jhadappai "to snøtch", Guj. jhadapvũ; jhadakka¹ "sudden onslaught" and its descendants in the modern languages.2 Any remaining doubts about the bnomatopoeic value of this group of words are removed by the expression jhadajhadajhadajhadanta, translated by Dr. Bhayani as "striking so as to produce jhadajhada sounds ".1 Jhadatti thus at first meant "making the sound jhada", i.e. "with a crash", and it was exactly parallel in formation to dhasatti. As in the case of dhasatti the idea of noise or of a blow seems to have gradually disappeared in this word and it came to denote the sense of "suddenly", "immediately" which is the only surviving one. Parallel developments for such a semantic change are not hard to find, e.g. French tout-à-coup. The Prakrit word jhadatti was given a Sanskrit garb and introduced into Sanskrit at a comparatively late stage as *jhatiti*, which does not figure in the Kāśikā. The Sanskrit jhatiti was subsequently borrowed back in some of the more artificial late Jain Māhārāstrī and Māhārāstrī texts where it appears as jhaditti, e.g. in the Surasundarīcaria. There is yet one more form of this word, namely jhatti which occurs in Prakrit and Apabhramsa and is a shortened form of jhadatti. Under the influence of the word jhadatti and possibly on account of the use of the word dhasatti "suddenly", "immediately" in the Jain canon the synonymous sahasā "suddenly", "immediately" took on a final -tti in Middle Indo-Aryan, although sahasa had no onomatopoeic value whatever. The use of -tti would not have been justified in this instance by the ordinary rules of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. In other words, -tti was treated almost like a suffix characteristic of adverbs meaning "suddenly", "immediately".

Tadatti "suddenly", "immediately" is yet another adverb that formed part of this closely-knit group in Middle Indo-Aryan. but it seems to be a comparatively recent formation and does not appear until rather late in Middle Indo-Aryan. This word has sometimes been associated with tadit "lightning" by scholars, e.g.

by Dr. Williams who quotes tadittadiya "like lightning" from the Aupapātikasūtra in support of this theory. 1 Tadatti "suddenly". "immediately" is probably connected only indirectly with Sanskrit tadit "lightning", which was not a very usual word in the popular language and had been largely replaced by derivatives of vidyut, > Middle Indo-Aryan vijju, vijjuā, vijjulā, etc. whence modern Hindi bijlī, and by derivatives of saudāmanī. Tadatti appears to be exactly parallel in formation with the earlier dhasatti and with jhadatti "suddenly", "immediately". It was derived from the verb tad- "to strike" which was felt to be onomatopoeic, as is shown by numerous onomatopoeic derivatives that are formed from it, e.g. Apabhramśa tadakka "crashing" and tadatadatadanta "breaking with the sound tadatada": tadatadento of similar meaning is found in the Jain canon. Tadatti therefore meant originally "with a crashing sound" and it actually occurs with that meaning in quite a few instances in Apabhramsa literature, e.g. in the verse quoted by Hemacandra IV 352:

vāyasu uddāvantiae piu ditthau sahasa tti addhā valayā mahihi gaya addhā phuṭṭa taḍa tti

which is translated in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series as "As the lover was suddenly sighted by a lady who was driving away the crows, half of her bracelets dropped down on the earth and the (rest) half cracked with a noise". Here tada tti "with a noise" is associated with sahasatti "suddenly" with which it rhymes. In practically all its occurrences tadatti is used with either sahasatti or jhadatti, and the semantic and formal link between all three words is evident. Although tadatti conveys the idea of sound occasionally as in the above example, in the majority of cases the idea of speed which is prevalent in sahasatti and jhadatti is paramount also in tadatti. This can be seen from a verse which is quoted by Hemacandra very near to the one quoted above, i.e. in illustration of IV 357: hiada phutti tadatti kari kāla-khevam kāim "o heart, break at once (or 'with a crash'), why do you delay?" Often tadatti has to be translated simply by "suddenly". "immediately" as is done by Professor Alsdorf 2 in the Harivamśapurāņa 86.3.2, where the word occurs in association with jhadatti:

phani uru-phanāe tādai tadatti padikhalai talappae Hari jhadatti

¹ Paumacariu by Svayambhūdeva, ed H. C. Bhayani, vol. ii (Bombay, 1953),

² R. L. Turner, op. cit., s.v. jharkanu.

¹ R. Williams, op. eit., p. 362.

² Harivamśapurāna, ed. L. Alsdorf (Hamburg, 1936), p. 372.

"The snake struck suddenly, with its hood extended, Hari parried immediately with the palm of his hand". In late Jain Māhārāṣṭrī where jhadatti occurs in the semi-Sanskrit form of jhaditti, tadatti is made to conform and appears as taditti, as, for instance, in the Manipaticarita of Haribhadra. The parallelism between jhadatti and tadatti is therefore complete. Historical evidence thus shows the existence in Middle Indo-Aryan of a closely associated group of synonyms meaning "suddenly", "immediately": dhasatti which is found in the Jain canon is succeeded by jhadatti, tadatti, and sahasatti which continually influenced each other formally and semantically.

In Apabhramsa there were already forces at work which caused the gradual break-up of this system of synonyms. The group of words meaning "suddenly", "immediately" formed part of a much larger system, the adverbs of time. As they were gradually made to conform with this larger system their existence as a separate group was obliterated. This tendency gave rise to forms such as jhattihim (Sandeśarāsaka), where the adverbial ending -him (based on the pronominal locative singular ending) was added to jhatti, probably under the influence of words such as tahim "there", "then", and enhim "now". Similarly in the Jasaharacariu one finds jhadavi, which shows a remodelling of jhadatti on the general pattern of adverbs of time composed with -vi < Sanskrit api, such as kayāvi < kadāpi. In the modern languages the idea of a separate group of adverbs ending in -tti and indicating immediacy has been lost completely. Sahasatti, no longer supported by the presence of synonyms with a similar ending, disappeared from the popular languages; it also lacked the support of a cognate group of lively onomatopoeic words such as those derived from tad- and jhad-. Jhadatti (jhatti) was weakened further to jhatta and gave rise to modern Hindi jhat "immediately", jhat-pat, and with reduplication for emphasis jhat-jhat, which is also found in Marathi, Gujerati, etc. Tadatti "immediately" survives in a very altered form as tarā-tar "quickly" in Nepali and as tar-tar "quickly" in Bengali and Oriva.

The Middle Indo-Aryan adverbs signifying "suddenly", "immediately" are thus a very striking example of a group of words that remained closely linked for a long time as synonyms, and became dissociated only in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

GHUMMIRA, GHOLIRA "AGITÉ, BRANLANT"

PAR

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

Ces deux adjectifs du moyen indo-aryen ne sont pas seulement des synonymes, leur répartition aussi est presque identique. Dans les textes qui nous sont parvenus on les trouve pour la première fois dans les gāthā de Hāla, puis dans d'autres textes māhārāṣṭrīs par exemple dans le Gaüdavāho, et on les retrouve en apabhraṃśa, par exemple ghummira dans le Paümasiricariu de Dhāhila, et gholira dans le Harivaṃśapurāṇa de Puṣpadanta. Les glossaires traduisent gholira et ghummira par le mot sanskrit ghūrṇayamāna, participe présent du verbe ghūrṇ- « s'agiter, branler ». Il n'y a pas de doute sur le sens de ces mots bien attestés, mais leur interprétation étymologique soulève des difficultés et des problèmes qui sont d'une portée plus générale et que la présente étude ne saurait qu'amorcer. Il s'agit des problèmes qui entourent l'origine du thème verbal ghumm- et l'emploi du suffixe -ira.

LE THÈME VERBAL GHUMM-.

Le verbe sanskrit ghūrṇ- « s'agiter, branler », dont on se sert si souvent pour traduire ghumm- est inconnu du védique et des Brāhmaṇas et n'est attesté que dans l'épopée et dans les textes sanskrits ultérieurs. T. Burrrow (1) a suggéré pour ghūrṇ- une étymologie dravidienne très convaincante. Mais cette étymologie ne suffit pas pour expliquer le mot prakrit ccl-1

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ghumm- qui ne saurait être un dérivé régulier de ghūrņ-. Les grammairiens prakrits, de Vararuci jusqu'à Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa citent toujours (2) gholai et parfois ghummai comme dhātvādeśa ou « remplaçant » du verbe sanskrit ghūrn-: ils reconnaissaient donc très bien que ni gholai ni ghummai n'étaient des dérivés réguliers de ghūrn-. Selon les règles phonétiques ghūrn- aurait dû devenir ghunn-, ou ghunnen prakrit. Ce mot se trouve en effet dans nos textes, mais très rarement; il y en a un seul exemple dans le canon jaina (ghunnantā, Panhāvāgaranam I), et des exemples très peu nombreux dans des textes du moyen indo-aryen (3) tardif (Deśināmamālā, Prākrtapaingala). Le mot ghunndérivé régulier de ghūrn-, a été remplacé complètement par ghummen māhārāstrī et en apabhramśa. Ghumm- « s'agiter, branler » existe déjà dans les textes canoniques des Jaina : on se sert du participe passé ghummiya dans la description d'un naufrage, Nāyadhammakahāo IX: gurujanaditthāvarāhā sujanakulakannayā ghummamānī viva, «(le navire) agité comme une jeune fille de bonne famille qui s'est rendue coupable devant les yeux de ses parents ». Si le mot ghumm- qui paraît de si bonne heure en prakrit n'est pas un dérivé du sanskrit épique et classique ghūrn-, il semble tout de même appartenir à la même famille étymologique, mais son origine immédiate reste obscure et il faut l'examiner à la lumière des autres verbes en -mm- du moyen indo-aryen.

-mm- comme finale d'un thème verbal est inconnu du sanskrit ⁽⁴⁾ mais assez commun en prakrit. Souvent cet -mm- du prakrit n'est que le résultat des changements phonétiques réguliers, et surtout de l'assimilation -mv- > -mm-.

-my– figurait dans le thème du présent de quelques verbes sanskrits qui appartenaient à la quatrième classe. On pourrait citer à titre d'exemple:

 $kl\bar{a}myati$ « s'épuiser, être fatigué » qui donne en māhārāṣṭrī kilammai ($L\bar{\iota}lava\bar{\iota}kah\bar{a}$).

 $t\bar{a}myati$ « s'épuiser, faiblir » qui devient tammaien māhārāṣṭrī (par exemple chez Hāla).

 $d\bar{a}myati$ « dompter (ses passions) », d'où dammai en māhārāṣṭrī ($Uvaesam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$).

śrāmyati (5) « se fatiguer, pratiquer l'ascétisme » qui donne sammai en ardha-māgadhī (*Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* I. 37). Ce dernier verbe ne se laissait plus distinguer en moyen indo-aryen de sammai tiré de śāmyati « rester tranquille, cesser ». D'autre part les racines bhram— et kṣam— se conjuguaient en sanskrit selon la première ou selon la quatrième classe : on trouve donc bhramati aussi bien que bhrāmyati « errer, aller çà et là »,

et *kṣamate* à côté de *kṣamyate* « pardonner, souffrir ». Ce double usage a laissé des traces en prakrit où l'on se sert de *bhamai* et de *bhammai*, de *khamai* et de *khammai*. Le verbe intensif *cankramate*, *cankramyate* se développe d'une façon toute semblable, d'où *cankamai*, *cankammai* en prakrit.

Même dans les dérivés de klam- etc., on trouve parfois des formes à -m- simple surtout dans les parties du verbe où -my- ne figurait pas en sanskrit et où la consonne simple s'accordait avec les règles phonétiques : par exemple damiūna absolutif de damai. Mais en māhārāṣṭrī c'est la forme du présent où -mm- était de règle qui s'est établie fermement dans ces verbes par analogie avec le présent, temps le plus usité. Il y avait donc en moyen indo-aryen un groupe de quatre verbes hérités du sanskrit, à signification très semblable, et dont le thème finissait par un -m- géminé : ce groupe comprenait kilammai « s'épuiser, être fatigué », tammai « s'épuiser, faiblir », dammai « dompter (ses passions) », sammai « se fatiguer, cesser ». Trois autres verbes hérités du sanskrit, bhammai et cankammai « errer » et khammai « souffrir » étaient souvent associés à ce groupe.

Une consonne géminée -mm— tirée de -my— paraît aussi au présent du passif de quelques verbes en -m— final en sanskrit. On trouve donc en māhārāṣṭrī gammai < gamyate, rammai < ramyate à côté de gamijjai, gamīai < gamyate et de ramijjai < ramyate, et dhammai < dhamyate, nisammai < nisamyate « entendre » (cf. Vararuci VIII, 58). Mais il y a d'autres cas où un -m— géminé figure au passif en moyen indo-aryen sans se laisser justifier par les règles phonétiques. Il s'agit de :

summai (en māhārāṣṭrī jaina, māhārāṣṭrī et apabhraṃśa) = $śr\bar{u}yate^{(6)}$ « entendre »;

cimmai (ne se trouve que chez les grammairiens) = cīyate « recueillir »; hammai (ardha-māgadhī, māhārāṣṭrī jaina) = hanyate « tuer »; khammai (māhārāṣṭrī) = khanyate ou khāyate « creuser »; jammai (māhārāṣṭrī) = jāyate, (ātmanepada) « naître ».

On a beaucoup discuté sur l'origine de ces formes du passif. H. Jacobi (7) suivi par K. F. Johansson (8), a cru à l'influence analogique du verbe gam— « aller », tandis que Pischel était convaincu que les passifs en -mm— étaient dus plutôt à des formations dénominatives (basées sur janman « naissance », hanman « meurtre »), ou bien à toute une série de changements phonétiques dont plusieurs (-v->-m-; -m->-mm-) étaient peu communs à cette époque : sruyate> *suvai> *sumai> summai,

et de même $c\bar{\imath}yate > cimmai$. L'influence des noms abstraits janman et hanman qui devaient donner en prakrit jamma et *hamma a été pour quelque chose dans la formation de hammai et de jammai. Mais l'importance de l'analogie dans le développement des thèmes verbaux et du système verbal tout entier en moven indo-aryen est plus considérable que ne le supposait Pischel (9). Les théories de Jacobi ne cessent de convaincre après plus de soixante-dix ans : le verbe gam- « aller » avait de la ressemblance avec han- « tuer » et khan- « creuser » (par exemple à l'absolutif gantūna: hantūna, khantūna, et au gérondif gantavva: hantavva, khantavva) et l'on a donc créé un nouveau passif hammai, khammai à l'imitation de gammai. Ce sont les thèmes nouveaux du passif hammai et khammai qui ont à leur tour entraîné cimmai (\(\lambda ci-\)) et summai (vsru-), à cause de la ressemblance des formes du présent actif: hanai, khanai correspondaient à cinai et sunai (10). Le développement régulier des formes sanskrites du passif de ci- et de śru- aurait donné lieu à des confusions (11), c'était donc là un terrain tout particulièrement favorable au jeu de l'analogie. Dans tous ces verbes -mm- semble avoir joué le rôle d'un morphème du passif, comme d'autres consonnes géminées dont l'usage s'est étendu en prakrit grâce à l'analogie, cf. -pp-, -vv-. Toutefois jammai, présent du verbe jan- « naître » en prakrit n'appartenait pas au passif proprement dit, c'était plutôt une forme de l'ātmanepada comme jāyate « il naît » en sanskrit, et il ne se laissait donc pas distinguer des verbes de la quatrième classe en -my- > -mm- qui étaient presque tous des verbes intransitifs. Hammai de han- « tuer » figure parfois comme présent de l'actif aussi bien que du passif (cf. chez Vararuci VIII, 45 et Hemacandra, Kumārapālacarita VII, 79). Cet emploi est dû probablement à l'influence du nom *hamma « meurtre » auquel il semblait se rattacher comme verbe dénominatif. Il ne nous reste donc que gammai, rammai, dhammai, nisammai (de niśamay- « entendre ») et khammai (12), cimmai et summai où mm- fit fonction de morphème du passif.

A côté des thèmes verbaux en -mm- du passif et de l'actif qu'on a cités jusqu'ici, et qui sont tous hérités du sanskrit il y en a d'autres dont l'origine n'est pas certaine.

Il s'agit de :

nissammai « être fatigué » (māhārāṣṭrī); nisammai « se reposer » (māhārāṣṭrī); pasammai « être tranquille » (māhārāṣṭrī); timmai « être mouillé » (māhārāṣṭrī); thimmai (doublet de timmai en apabhramśa selon la grammaire de Mārkandeya);

jimmai « manger » (chez Hemacandra, IV, 230);

dummai « se désespérer » (māhārāṣṭrī et apabhraṃśa);

ghummai « s'agiter, branler » (ardha-māgadhī, māhārāṣṭrī et apabh-ramśa);

khummai « plier » (?), (ardha-māgadhī, et chez les grammairiens Rāmaśarman et Mārkandeya);

cummai « embrasser » (Rāmaśarman); pummai « regarder » (Mārkandeya).

Les trois premiers verbes de cette liste ne devraient pas y figurer, mais c'est Johansson qui a groupé nisammai et pasammai avec dummai et ghummai, et il a tout expliqué par l'analogie. Il suppose que les participes passés du sanskrit nisanna de ni + sad- « s'asseoir, s'abaisser », et prasanna de pra + sad- auraient abouti en prakrit à un nouveau présent nisannai, pasannai (qui d'ailleurs ne se trouve nulle part, ni dans les textes littéraires ni chez les grammairiens) et qui à son tour aurait abouti à de nouvelles formes du présent nisammai et pasammai sous l'influence de *hannai, doublet (introuvable) de hammai, passif analogique de han- « tuer ». Il n'y a aucune indication dans l'usage qu'on fait en prakrit de nisammai et de pasammai qu'il s'agisse d'un passif, et la vérité est beaucoup plus simple que ne le croyait Johansson. Nisammai et pasammai sont plutôt des dérivés réguliers des verbes de la quatrième classe $ni + \pm 3am$ « se reposer », et $pra + \pm 3am$ « être tranquille » comme l'ont toujours cru les commentateurs. En māhārāṣṭrī on trouve aussi un présent nissammai, parfois nisammai, tiré de ni + śram- « être fatigué » qu'on ne saurait rattacher à ni + sad non plus. Il y en a des exemples assez clairs en mähärästri, cf. Lilavaikahä, 1082: pamhantara-parigholira-nayana-nisammanta-vayanāim « les visages se fatiguaient à cause des yeux qu'on voyait rouler entre les cils ». Ici l'interprétation par nisanna de ni + sad- ne saurait donner une signification sensée et le commentateur jaina a donné le mot tāmyad « se fatiguant » comme traduction sanskrite. Les grammairiens évidemment étaient du même avis : ni(s) sammai, nisammai et pasammai ne figurent pas dans leur Dhātvādeśa et ils les considéraient donc comme des dérivés réguliers des verbes sanskrits ni + śram, ni + śam et pra + śam, qui n'avaient rien à faire avec nisanna et pasanna (13).

Les théories de K. F. Johansson, qui a tout expliqué par l'analogie, ont fait tomber en discrédit les résultats fermement acquis par H. Jacobi, et c'est cela qui explique probablement pourquoi R. Pischel a rejeté d'un seul coup la théorie de l'analogie toute entière. Il n'y a pas eu de changement systématique d'un -n final en -m dans les thèmes verbaux, ni par des règles phonétiques extraordinaires comme le supposaient S. Goldschmidt et un peu Pischel, ni par l'analogie, comme le supposait Johansson. On doit donc chercher ailleurs l'explication de dummai, ghummai et des autres mots de notre liste.

Johansson a tenté d'expliquer le verbe prakrit dummai « se désespérer », par les changements analogiques qu'aurait subis le verbe sanskrit du-« brûler ». Mais il n'y a aucune ressemblance entre dummai et le verbe passif summai, tiré de śru- « entendre ». Les formes intermédiaires manquent totalement. La consonne géminée de dummai ne semble nulle part jouer le rôle d'un morphème du passif comme dans summai; c'est dummijjai qui sert de passif (chez Hāla). Il faut donc rejeter l'étymologie dummai < \sqrt{du} « brûler ». Le participe passé dummia « désespéré » qu'on trouve chez Hāla est fréquent en prakrit et en apabhramsa et c'est probablement la forme la plus ancienne du verbe dummai. Pour l'expliquer il faut partir du mot sanskrit durmanas > prakrit dummana « qui a l'esprit malheureux », solution qu'avait déjà entrevue Weber (14), mais sans s'y fier. En prakrit on avait cessé de considérer dummana comme un composé de manas « esprit » : dummana ressemblait plutôt à de nombreux adjectifs verbaux en -ana tirés du sanskrit. Les adjectifs en -ana, suffixe actif, s'opposaient nettement au participe passif:

karaṇa « qui fait », karia « fait »;
jalaṇa « qui brûle », jalia « brûlé »;
haraṇa « qui emporte », haria « emporté ».

On a interprété dummana comme un adjectif verbal et de là on a tiré un participe passé dummia « attristé », et un verbe dummai « se désespérer ». Une série complète de doublets phonétiques porte preuve à cette interprétation : -r- pouvait tomber devant une consonne en allongeant la voyelle précédente (Pischel, § 62). On trouve donc dūmana (ardhamāgadhī), d'où dūmia « attristé » et dūmai « se désespérer » (māhārāṣṭrī).

 $Gh\bar{u}rn$ - n'était pas un mot hérité en sanskrit, et son origine dravidienne l'exposait à des changements extraordinaires, puisqu'il n'avait pas d'appui dans la langue. En outre -nn- n'existait quasiment pas en prakrit comme finale de thème verbal. Le participe passé ghummia qui devait remplacer ghunnia $< gh\bar{u}rnita$ « agité » a été créé à l'imitation de dummia « attristé » dont on se servait à côté de dunnia < du-, « brûlé, affligé ».

Ghummia (ardha-māgadhī) est donc la forme la plus ancienne du verbe ghumm- et c'est de ce participe passé qu'on a tiré le présent ghummai « branler », si commun en māhārāṣṭrī. Les deux verbes ghummai et dummai restaient liés étroitement en moyen indo-aryen et ils devaient se rapprocher peu à peu dans leur sens : en apabhraṃśa dummia signifiait « troublé », agité » (au sens figuré), et plus tard, en hindi moderne dūmnā « s'agiter, branler » est devenu à peu près synonyme de ghūmmā « branler, tourbillonner ».

Khummi(y)a « plié » paraît en ardha-māgadhī.

Ce mot ne se laisse guère séparer du participe passé khuṇṇa « opprimé, écrasé » (du sanskrit kṣunna < \sqrt{ksud-}) : comme ghummiya, khummia a été créé sous l'influence de dummia « attristé » : dunnia, dūna « brûlé, affligé ». De khummia l'on a tiré un verbe nouveau khummia « écraser » qui se trouve chez les grammairiens tardifs Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa et Mārkaṇḍeya. Il n'y a aucun doute que ce mot ait existé dans la langue parlée, car il a survécu dans les langues modernes, parfois au sens figuré, cf. nepali khumcinu « se rétrécir, être déprimé » (Turner, Nepali Dictionary, p. 24).

Ces trois mots en -umm- si étroitement liés par leur origine, ont été rejoints par pummai « voir » (apabhraméa) d'origine obscure, et par cumbati « embrasser » devenu cummai par assimilation de la consonne b. Cummai n'est connu que dans le moyen indo-aryen très tardif (Prākṛta-paingala, Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa) et dans les langues modernes (hindi cūmnā, panjabi cummṇā, etc.). Probablement vers la même époque lambate > lambai « se pencher, sombrer » est devenu lammai par l'assimilation du b, (cf. les dérivés, hindi lamaknā, etc.). Ce mot ressemblait trop au groupe dummai « s'affliger, etc. », pour ne pas en subir l'influence, et au lieu de lammai l'on devait donc dire *lummai, qui a survécu surtout au sens de « faiblir ». C'est là l'explication du verbe hindi lūmnā « faiblir ». Le verbe prakrit ghummai fait donc partie d'un groupe de mots qui ne s'est étendu que peu, mais qui est resté uni par des liens étroits jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

L'origine du thème verbal ghol- « s'agiter, branler » reste obscure, mais on s'accorde en général à le considérer comme apparenté à ghumm- « s'agiter, branler ».

LE SUFFIXE -IRA.

En sanskrit le suffixe -ira s'employait avec certains verbes pour former des adjectifs au sens de « qui a l'habitude de... ». Dans plusieurs cas

c'étaient des formations très anciennes et à peine reconnaissables par exemple işira « vigoureux » d'iş- « animer » et peut-être śithira « mou » de śṛth- (?). Mais le suffixe restait bien vivant et servait à former des mots nouveaux en sanskrit (cf. mucira « généreux », qu'on trouve dans les lexiques, et rucira « lumineux »). Le suffixe -ira est apparenté à -ra qu'il sert parfois à remplacer (cf. védique ajira à côté d'ajra et dans les lexiques bhidira et bhidra, chidira et chidra) (15).

Mais le suffixe -ira figure aussi en sanskrit comme suffixe secondaire au sens possessif, par exemple dans medhira « qui possède de l'intelligence (medhā) ». Ce double emploi du suffixe -ira a survécu en prakrit; Hemacandra s'en rendait déjà compte, et il a noté -ira comme deux suffixes différents :

II. 145 śīlādyarthasyeraḥ, « ira indique le sens de l'habitude, etc. », et II. 159 ālvillollālavantamantetteramaṇā matoḥ, « ālu, illa, ulla, āla, vanta, manta, itta, ira et mana remplacent le suffixe mat ».

Le suffixe secondaire —ira est devenu un peu plus fréquent en prakrit; il ne garde pas toujours le sens possessif et il sert parfois à remplacer des syllabes finales insolites dans des mots rares ou empruntés : divira « scribe » du moyen persan dipīr se trouve dans les inscriptions kharosthies (avec i long ou bref?) et a passé en sanskrit; nacira du moyen persan naxčīr paraît aussi dans les inscriptions de Niya et dans une inscription de l'Inde propre (15); gahira en māhārāṣṭrī tend à remplacer gahīra < sanskrit gabhīra « profond », et le mot prakrit guhira est dû à une contamination de gabhīra avec guhā « cachette »; ujjagira remplace ujjagaraya « insomnie » dans le Vajjālaggaṃ. Parfois on a tout simplement ajouté—ira à un adjectif, cf. ullira = ulla « mouillé » dans le même texte.

Mais c'est surtout le suffixe primaire -ira qui est devenu fréquent en moyen indo-aryen et qui figure dans ghummira et gholira. Il est difficile d'expliquer la vogue dont a joui ce suffixe en prakrit. Quelques-uns des mots prakrits en -ira sont des dérivés de mots sanskrits en -ra, l'i étant une voyelle anaptyctique : cf. sanskrit avihimsra « qui ne fait pas de mal », prakrit himsira « qui fait mal », namra « courbé », prakrit namira. Mais ces mots ne sont attestés qu'à une époque assez tardive et l'explication anaptyctique ne vaut pas pour la plupart des adjectifs en -ira du moyen indo-aryen. Le sens des mots prakrits en -ira est aussi varié que la forme et l'on ne peut pas en tirer grand-chose pour expliquer les voies de l'expansion de ce suffixe. Presque toutes les consonnes et même des voyelles figurent à la fin des racines verbales auxquelles l'on a ajouté le suffixe

-ira. Il semble donc que l'expansion de ce suffixe se soit produite par des voies multiples.

Les débuts de l'extension se laissent déjà entrevoir en sanskrit : rucira « luisant » semble avoir été créé sous l'influence de rudhira « rouge » (16) (extension due à une ressemblance de sens et de forme); rucira : ruc-« luire » à son tour a donné lieu à mucira (dans les lexiques) « généreux » de muc- « libérer »; l'extension ici est due à une ressemblance purement formelle. À l'imitation de timira « sombre » presque tous les verbes en -m- ont formé des adjectifs en -ira en māhārāstrī : c'est là en partie du moins l'explication du mot prakrit ghummira « agité, branlant ». Mais l'extension du suffixe -ira a rapport aussi au sens : il y a peu de mots qui se prêtent aussi bien à l'idée de l'habitude que les verbes qui désignent « vaciller, aller et venir, etc. », et ce sont donc ceux-là qui ont pris le suffixe -ira de bonne heure en prakrit. Parisakkira « qui marche » se trouve déjà dans le canon jaina, et dans les textes māhārāstrīs on peut rencontrer hindira et hallira « qui va et vient » (Samarāiccakahā); vevira « qui tremble » (surtout en apabhramsa); pakampira « qui tremble »; bhamira, gamira « qui marche », et ghummira « qui branle » (cf. l'influence probable de timira); vallira « qui marche »; rankholira, dolira et andolira « qui bascule », gholira et paholira « qui branle » (mots qui se ressemblent par la forme aussi bien que par le sens), pahallira, pahillira et pahilira « qui branle »; vicalira « qui s'agite »; taliantira « qui se tourne ». Il n'y a pas de doute que dans ce groupe de mots l'extension du suffixe -ira se soit faite par des voies multiples, et formelles et sémantiques. Le suffixe -ira s'ajoute aussi de bonne heure aux verbes qui signifient « parler » et l'on trouve donc jampira « qui parle (beaucoup) »; ayampira « qui ne parle pas » (dans le canon jaina, Dasav.); lavira « qui bavarde », et bhāsira (Supā.), bhanira (Hāla) « qui bavarde »; rasira « qui crie »; sāhira « qui raconte », etc.

Ayampira et parisakkira représentent les seuls exemples clairs de l'extension du suffixe primaire –ira dans le canon jaina. L'usage de ce suffixe semble plutôt avoir été un des traits caractéristiques de la māhārāṣṭrī littéraire : les mots en –ira abondent dans le Gaüḍavāho et le Setubandha et surtout chez Hāla. Vu l'importance de Hāla pour la grammaire prakrite (17), il n'est pas surprenant que le suffixe –ira se retrouve déjà dans la grammaire de Vararuci : IV, 24 tṛṇa ira śīle, « –ira s'emploie au lieu du suffixe de l'agent –tṛ pour désigner une habitude ». –ira est beaucoup moins fréquent dans le Vajjālaggam, et si l'on exclut les mots formés à l'aide du suffixe secondaire, par exemple ullira et ujjagira, il ne reste que cinq mots en –ira dans ce texte, dont un dans un vers qui se

retrouve chez Hāla (Hāla, v. 202). -ira n'est pas fréquent non plus dans les textes māhārāstrīs indépendants de la tradition de Hāla, il n'y en a qu'un ou deux exemples dans la Vasudevahindi, la Samarāiccakahā, et la Līlavaīkahā. -ira appartient donc à la māhārāstrī littéraire de Hāla et s'est répandu de là en apabhramsa et parfois même dans les autres prakrits littéraires : Pischel cite quelques exemples tirés de la sauraseni des drames tardifs (18). C'était un suffixe très utile, surtout quand les dérivés des noms de l'agent en -tr s'étaient séparés du verbe à tel point que l'on ne s'en servait quasiment plus. Le suffixe -ira s'est fermement établi en apabhramsa grâce à l'influence de la māhārāstrī littéraire, et s'est de plus en plus généralisé. Il n'était plus restreint à l'idée de l'habitude, il est plutôt devenu une espèce de participe présent (ou passé) de l'actif, et c'est ceci qui explique la traduction sanskrite ghūrnayamāna (participe présent) dont se servent les commentaires pour rendre gholira et ghummira. Cet élargissement du sens devait amener le déclin du suffixe -ira. Ayant perdu son sens spécialisé -ira ne faisait que doubler le participe. Dans le Sanatkumāra-caritam l'usage de ce suffixe est devenu si général, surtout avec des verbes à préverbe, qu'on est tenté de l'interpréter comme un procédé littéraire. Pour ne citer que les verbes précédés par pari : parikampira, parikīlira, parigamira, paricintira, parituţţira, paridhāvira, parimillira, parivilasira figurent tous dans ce texte et sont presque inconnus ailleurs. Ce procédé littéraire a l'air artificiel, et l'on voit bien que le sufixe -ira était devenu trop vague pour rester expressif et vivant.

Les mots ghummira et gholira laissent donc entrevoir deux tendances linguistiques : un groupe de mots qui ne s'est pas beaucoup étendu peut rester bien vivant et garder son unité (cf. hindi moderne : $gh\bar{u}mn\bar{a}$, $d\bar{u}mn\bar{a}$, $l\bar{u}mn\bar{a}$), mais un suffixe devenu trop commun est tombé en désuétude (-ira).

NOTES

- (4) Hammati « marcher » ne se trouve que chez les grammairiens et est attribué par Patañjali au pays de Surāṣṭra.
- (5) Le doublet śramati (1re classe) est peu usité.
- (6) Il est évident, d'après le témoignage des textes, que summai ne vient pas de stap-(malgré Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strasbourg, 1900, § 261).
- (7) H. Jacobi, «Über unregelmässige Passiva im Prākrit», in KZ, 28, 1887.
- (8) F. Johansson, "Über analoge Neubilding der Verbalflexion im aind. und baltslavischen", in KZ, 32, p. 449 et suiv.
- ⁽⁹⁾ R. PISCHEL, op. cit. Cf. au contraire l'importance de l'analogie dans l'extension énorme des verbes en -ll- et -kk- en moyen indo-aryen tardif.
- (10) L'influence du passif régulier nisammai « être entendu» peut avoir été pour quelque chose dans le développement du passif summai « être entendu ».
- 11) śru- « entendre » tendait à se confondre au passif avec svap- « dormir » : cf. suai, suvai svapiti.
- (12) khammai est actif chez les grammairiens Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa, VIII, 16 et Mārkaṇḍeya, VII, 145.
- (13) jimai « manger » est d'origine kolarienne (cf. T. Burrow, TPS, 1946). Le doublet jimmai se trouve parfois dans les textes tardifs. Ce manque de certitude quant à la consonne n'a rien de surprenant dans un mot emprunté. C'est la forme à consonne simple qui est presque de règle et qui a survécu dans les langues modernes (hindi jevnā, etc.).

Le verbe sanskrit tim- « être immobile », « être mouillé » est apparenté à tam- « faiblir » aussi bien qu'à stim- prakrit thimmai « être immobile », « être mouillé ». Ces deux verbes tim- et stim- ne sont connus en sanskrit qu'au participe passé, timita et stimita, bien que les grammairiens citent parfois le présent timyati, stimyati (4e classe, sous l'influence de tam-?). Il faut probablement expliquer les mots prakrits timmai et thimmai par l'influence du mot apparenté tammai « faiblir » < tam- et des autres verbes de la 4e classe, semblables par le sens, kilammai, sammai.

- (14) A. Weber, ZDMG, 28, 352.
- (15) T. Burrow, The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Cambridge, 1937, p. 98 et 99.
- (16) J. WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, p. 361.
- 17) Cf. L. NITTI-DOLCI, Les Grammairiens prakrits, Paris, 1938.
- 18) R. PISCHEL, op. cit., § 596.

⁽¹⁾ T. Burrow, BSOAS, XII, p. 378. Cf. M. MAYRHOFER, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, s. v. ghûrn-, qui cite aussi les opinions contraires de Scheftelowitz, KZ, 53, p. 260 et de F. B. J. Kuiper.

⁽²⁾ Vararuci, VIII, 6; Hemacandra, IV, 117; Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa, VIII, 2; Mārkaṇḍeya, VII, 9 et IX, 119. Le seul Kramadīśvara ne cite que ghoṇai. Ghulai et ghummai figurent aussi dans la Deśināmamālā.

³⁾ Ghun- se trouve aussi chez Vararuci, VIII, 6, à côté de ghol-.

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words, which are linked with others as derivatives or inflected forms, are much more frequent in very "grammatical" languages such as Sanskrit than in modern "lexicological" languages, where each word tends to be a separate unit that has no obvious etymological association with anything else.1 This, as Saussure himself pointed out, is by no means an absolute rule, and there are numerous exceptions to it. The ordinal numbers other than 'first' in some Indo-European languages form one group of exceptions.2 In a very "grammatical" language like Latin, secundus 'second' was quite separate from the cardinal numeral duo 'two,' whereas in a more "lexicological" language derived from Latin such as modern French, deuxième 'second' is obviously based on deux 'two.' There is little doubt that similar remodellings under the influence of the cardinal numbers took place in the words meaning 'second' and 'third,' but not 'first' in the course of the development of Sanskrit into Middle and Modern Indo-Arvan.

In Vedic and Sanskrit, as in practically all Indo-European languages, the numeral prathama

ACCORDING TO F. DE SAUSSURE "motivated" 'first' was obviously based on a stem quite different from eka 'one.' The words for 'first' in the modern languages, e.g., Hindi pahilā, Gujerati pahelū, Marathi pahilā remain dissociated from eka 'one.' The derivation of these modern forms from the Apabhramsa pahilla or pahila <*prathil(1)a is well known,3 but the causes of the replacement of prathama > padhama by *prathil(l)a warrant some further study.

The suffix -ma which occurs in prathama 'first' was used in Sanskrit for forming many ordinals above 'four' and for contrastive adjectives with superlative force, e.g., ādima 'initial,' 'first,' carama 'last,' paścima 'last,' 'western.' In epic Sanskrit the use of -ma was extended and it replaced the superlative -tama in ordinals of multiples of ten, thus navatima appears for navatitama 'ninetieth.' Because of its frequent use with bases ending in -i the suffix was then considered to be -ima and was used even in cases where the vowel -i- was not justified, e.g., in carima for carama 'last.' At the same time, in early Middle Indo-Aryan, as shown by Pali and Prakrit texts alike, the relative superlative was weakened and gradually replaced by the comparative. This meant that the need was felt for a more emphatic suffix pointed out, is foreign to the word 'first,' as this cated possession as well as intensity, as in the Ardha-Māgadhī words tanailla 'grassy,' amāilla 'true.' -illa appears as the usual emphatic replacement for the suffix -ima, both in contrastive and other adjectives. Thus riddhima and riddhilla 'wealthy' are used in Jain Māhārāstrī, and ganthima and ganthilla 'knotty' and other similar doublets. Sometimes -illa was simply added to the adjectives in -ima, we therefore find in Ardha-Māgadhī puracchimilla 'easternmost' from *puraścima (puras ≠ paścima) and padhimilla 'first' from prathama. But in the majority of cases the suffix -illa shows one of the main characteristics of being a "slang" suffix: like -kka, it is substituted for the entire final of the word in which it appears.5 Hence one finds for instance in the Ardha-Māgadhi of the Bhagavatīsūtra: uvarilla 'uppermost,' hetthilla 'lowest,' uttarilla 'northernmost,' which are based on uvarima, hetthima and uttarima (Bhaq. XVI 8). Identical forms are found in the Jain Saurasenī of the Digambara texts, e.g., hetthilla and uvarilla occur in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā. Everything thus points to a very early substitution of -illa for the suffix -ima. One may therefore postulate an early Middle Indo-Arvan form *prathilla for prathama, where cerebralisation of the -th- did not take place. Prathilla gave pahilla in Apabhramsa. -illa from being an emphatic suffix became merely pleonastic (cf. Hc. II 164), and by the Apabhramsa period it had become so weak that occasionally a need was felt to strengthen the word pahilla by the addition of the comparative suffix -ara < -tara which had taken on the rôle of a superlative: we thus find pahilaraya fem. pahilari in the Paümacariu of Svayambhū. The suffix -ila which is probably just a variant of -illa occurs less frequently, e.g., both māila and māilla 'dirty' are used in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā (vs. 585 and 543). As suggested by Professor Turner,³ the alternative Apabhramsa form pahila for pahilla may be the source of the modern Hindi, Panjabi and Nepali

The tendency to remodel the ordinal numerals on the pattern of the cardinals, as previously

words for 'first.'

where the superlative in -ma had been used, par- is generally emphatic and has a stronger affinity ticularly in the contrastive adjectives. Such an with the contrastive adjectives than with the emphatic and popular suffix was -illa, which indinumerals. An isolated exception to this is ekama, used in modern Mārwārī to mean 'the first day of the lunar month,' which is clearly derived from eka 'one.' There were however in Middle Indo-Arvan a number of other derivatives of eka 'one' which were not, strictly speaking, ordinal numerals, but which were to have an important effect on the development of other ordinal numerals in the early stages of Modern Indo-Arvan.

The Sanskrit words dvitīva and trtīva, 'second' and 'third,' have survived with modifications in Gujerati and in the Rājasthānī languages, e.g., Mārwārī dūjo or vījo 'second' and tījo 'third.' Similar forms are found in the earlier phases of other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, as in Old Bengali: doja and tiaja, teja, and in 16th century Awadhī: dūja and tīja (Tulsīdās).6 But in the majority of the present-day languages these etymological forms of the ordinal numerals have been restricted to specialised usages, such as Hindi $d\bar{u}_i$ and $t\bar{i}_i$ 'the second and third day of the lunar month.' They have been replaced in their original meaning of 'second' and 'third' by an entirely new type of form, widely distributed throughout the centre and east of India: Hindi dūsrā and tīsrā, Bengali dosrā and tesrā. There is no direct evidence of the existence of such forms in Apabhramśa; they seem to have spread mainly in the modern languages. The earlier Middle Indo-Aryan texts, Pali, the Jain canon and classical Māhārāstrī all have derivatives of the classical Sanskrit ordinals to express the notion of 'second' and 'third,' as well as some older formations, docca < *dvitya and tacca < *trtya, which do not contribute further towards our understanding of the modern words. Yet, as is so often the case, Middle Indo-Aryan does show indirect signs of the modern developments.

Early histories of Modern Indo-Arvan such as the work of Bloch 7 left the words dūsrā and tīsrā unexplained. Hoernle 8 had made an attempt to derive the final of these numerals from the San-

¹ F. de Saussure, Cours de Linguistique Générale, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1949), p. 183.

² J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik III (Göttingen, 1930), p. 405.

³ R. L. Turner, A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language (London, 1931).

F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (New Haven, 1953), pp. 120-121.

^{5 &}quot; Prakrit thakka 'tired,' " Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume I (1958), p. 317.

⁶ Baburam Saksena, The Evolution of Awadhi (Allahabad, 1937), p. 152.

⁷ J. Bloch, La Formation de la Langue Marathe (Paris, 1915), p. 223.

⁸ R. Hoernle, A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages (London, 1880), § 271.

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was not generally accepted, mainly on phonetic grounds. Much more convincing is the view of S. K. Chatterii who derived the final -sara of these numerals from the verbal adjective sara. from \sr- 'to move,' which was used in Sanskrit to form the adjective purahsara 'preceding.'9 This explanation has been accepted as probable by Turner. Saksena and other scholars. A study of Middle Indo-Aryan indicates that the development of the modern forms was as suggested by Professor Chatterji, although in some ways more complex.

In Middle Indo-Aryan texts there actually exists a form ekkasaraka (with variants ekāsara or egāsara) which has the appearance of the type of intermediate form that is required by the theory of S. K. Chaterji. This word occurs a number of times in the Svetāmbara canon, but always in the same context. Typical of such an instance is a phrase in the last sentence of the Panhāvāgaranāim: Panhāvāgarane nam ego suyakkhandho dasa ajihayanā ekkasaragā dasasu ceva divasesu uddisijjanti, 'the Panhāvāgaranāim forms one book of Holv Writ. It has ten undivided chapters, which are read in as many days.' Ekkasara(k)a is thus used of chapters in the canon which are not divided into lessons. This is proved further by a statement in the Samavāyanga where details of the contents of the other sacred texts are given: Se nam angațthayāe docce ange do suyakkhandhā tevīsam ajihayanā tettīsam uddesanakālā, 'the second Anga which forms part of the canon contains two books of Holy Writ, consisting of twentythree chapters to be read at thirty-three different reading times.' Abhavadeva's commentary to this passage mentions in explanation that the first chapter has four lessons, the second three, the third four, the fourth and fifth have two lessons each, while the remaining eleven chapters of the first book are ekkasarā 'undivided.' He continues: satteva mahājihayanā egasarā hūnti bīya-suyakkhandhe, 'and in the second book there are seven great undivided chapters.' This explanation accounts for the thirty-three reading times necessary for the twenty-three chapters and corresponds to the actual division of the Sūyagadanga as it is handed down to us.

The commentators and glossaries give a variety

skrit past participle srta 'moved.' This theory of Sanskrit renderings and possible etymological connections for the word ekkasara(ka). The Pāiasadda-mahannavo 10 mentions two Sanskrit equivalents: eka-saraka and eka-saraa, Eka-saraa 'having the mind intent on one object' is very unlikely as a prototype for ekkasara(ka) 'single,' 'undivided' on semantic grounds, and almost impossible on phonetic grounds. The obvious explanation is that ekkasara(ka) was formed from the verb sr- 'to move,' 11 and was parallel in composition to purassara < purahsara 'preceding.' Ekkasara(ka) thus formed would naturally have the meaning of 'going on one's own,' 'single,' and hence 'undivided' as in the Jain Scriptures. The variant forms in Ardha-Māgadhī with lengthening of the final -a of eka- are easily explained by the analogy of ekādaśa 'eleven' and ekākin 'solitary': the former word in particular brought about an extension of the long -ā- to other compounds of eka in Middle Indo-Aryan, e.g., egāvīsa 'twenty-one' in the Jain Māhārāstrī of the Paümacariyam (20.72) and ekānauim 'ninety-one' in the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Samavāyanga. The word ekkasara(ka), although so highly specialised and restricted in use in the Jain canon survived to a later date and still exists in the Modern Hindi word aksar, iksar 'single,' Nepali eksaro (cf. also Middle Bengali ekasara).

It was probably the analogical influence of ekkasara(ka) 'single' that brought about the formation of new adjectives from the cardinal numerals: do-sarā and tī-sarā. These adjectives being parallel with $ekkasara(ka) > eksar(\bar{a})$ 'single' 'undivided' probably meant originally 'two together,' 'making a complete two,' 'three together,' 'making a complete three.' This sense of 'making complete a certain number' is typical of ordinals in Indo-Aryan, as has been shown by Wackernagel 12 who quotes as one of his examples the famous passage from the Atharvaveda: dvau samnisadya yan mantrayete, rājā tad veda varunas trtīyah, 'what two men sitting together speak about, King Varuna knows that as a third (making complete the number three). 'It was probably in this manner that dosarā and tīsarā developed into

¹² Wackernagel III, p. 400.

ordinal numerals in Modern Indo-Aryan, replacing 'Sitting there among his companions and among the derivatives of dvitīya and trtīya over most of the centre and the east of India. The word for of men at once grew contented.' A variant reading 'fourth' and higher numerals are on the whole less used in the completive type of enumeration that has given rise to the use of dosarā and tīsarā as ordinals. Caüsara (found in the late Jain Māhārāstrī of the Supāsanāhacaria) has therefore not become an ordinal, but has survived as Hindi causar 'fourfold (particularly of a necklace),' 'a dice game,' while the higher numerals do not seem to have followed the analogy of ekkasara(ka) at all. Although the formation of dūsrā and tīsrā is therefore probably due to the Prakrit word ekkasara(ka) 'single,' 'undivided,' it is necessary, in order to trace the history of these modern ordinals, to take into account several other derivatives of eka 'one' in Middle Indo-Arvan.

A fairly common word in Prakrit is ekkasi(m) 'once' which occurs in the Jain canon and continues to be used in Apabhramsa (e.g., Paümacariu 2.14.1). Ekkasi(m) is generally taken by the grammarians to be a derivative of Sanskrit ekaśas 'singly.' Special rules are formulated by Hemacandra to explain it and its variant ekkasiam in Prakrit (Hc. 2.162, where however it is taken as an equivalent of Sanskrit ekadā 'once'), and in Apabhramśa (Hc. 4.428 ekaśaso di). The irregular change of the final -as of ekasas to -i is almost certainly due to the analogical influence of other adverbs, particularly sai(m) < sakrt 'once,' rather than to the survival of an Indo-European affix *-kis as suggested by S. Sen. 13 Such analogical changes in the endings of adverbs and conjunctions are not rare in Prakrit, as for instance in jai and jaiyā(m) from yadā 'when.' 14

A very similar adverb, derived from eka also figures in Prakrit. This is ekkasariam 'at once.' 'simultaneously,' which is mentioned by Hemacandra (2.213: ekkasariam jhaqiti samprati). In some of its occurrences this word appears with the ending of the locative singular feminine as ekkasariyāi or ekkasariyāe, presumably with the elision of the noun velāe < velāyām 'time,' e.g., in the Māhārāstrī of the Līlāvaīkahā (v. 131):

tatthāsīno sahiehim sukai-chandānuvattiehim ca samuyam suha-santuttho nara-nāho ekkasariyāe.

reciters of the verses of excellent poets, the lord of v. 634 of the Līlāvaīkahā contains ekkasariyānām. The ending here is no doubt due to the elision of a genitive plural indicating time, such as kālānām or samayānām. Occasionally the word ekkasariam has been confused with ekkasi(m) by later commentators and has been glossed as ekadā 'once' (cf. Līlāvaīkahā v. 178), but in the texts it always signifies 'at once,' 'simultaneously.'

As the use of the endings indicates, ekkasariam, unlike ekkasi(m), was adjectival in origin and was to some extent still felt to be an adjective in Prakrit. The derivation of ekkasariam is clearly not from eka + avasara 'opportunity,' 15 nor from ekkasara(ka) 'single' as suggested by the Pāïasadda-mahannavo.10 The correct explanation of the word has been indirectly hinted at by Modi in the glossary to the Gurjararāsāvalī. 16 It seems certain that ekkasariam was derived from eka 'one' + sadrś 'like' > ekkasari, to which was added the adverbial ending -am as in the case of ekkasi(m), ekkasiam. Ekkasariam thus meant originally 'like one' and when used with a word for time 'simultaneously,' 'at once.' The evidence of the Middle Indo-Arvan texts supports this view: sarī-vaṇṇo 'resembling' occurs both in Pali 17 and Prakrit (Hc. I.142) and sari(a) < sadrś- appears occasionally in Prakrit from the Ardha-Magadhi of the Jain canon onwards (cf. Nāyādhammakahāo I.1.24). It is found for instance in the Jain Māhārāstrī of the Manipaticarita of Haribhadra v. 475: Manivai-ramma-kahāe uvasama-rasapasara-deva-sariyāe, translated by R. Williams 18 as 'in the charming story of Manipati, which is like a divinity spreading the essence of tranquility.' Sari 'like' is used by Hemacandra in the Kumārapālacarita I. 90, and in his grammar, I. 142. Sari(a) 'like,' although never as common in Middle

⁹ S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (Calcutta, 1926), p. 700.

¹⁰ H. D. T. Sheth, Pāïa-sadda-mahannavo (Calcutta,

¹¹ The adverbs bi-saram, ori-saram 'twice,' 'three times' occur in later Avestan (cf. Wackernagel III p. 427). For phonetic reasons they do not appear to represent a parallel development in Iranian.

¹³ Sukumar Sen, A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan (Calcutta, 1960), p. 142.

^{14 &}quot;Quelques Adverbes Pronominaux du Moyen Indien," J. A. CCXLV (1957), p. 248.

¹⁵ This derivation is mentioned by A. N. Uparhye in his edition of the Līlāvaīkahā (Bombay, 1949), p. 336, note on verse 131.

¹⁶ Gurjararāsāvalī, ed. B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai and M. C. Modi, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXVIII (Baroda, 1956), p. 151.

¹⁷ R. L. Turner, op. cit., p. 590. For details of the development of sadr's to sari see H. Berger, Zwei Probleme der Mittelindischen Lautlehre (Munich, 1955), p. 42.

¹⁸ R. Williams, Two Prakrit Versions of the Manipaticarita (London, 1959), p. 327.

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Indo-Aryan as its synonym sarisa < sadṛśa, con- an early form of dosarā 'second' with loss of the nothing surprising in the use of sari(a) in the formation of the Prakrit adverb ekkasariam.

vived in Modern Hindi and its dialects as the adverb eksar 'all at one time,' as distinct from the adjective iksar, aksar 'single.' There are indications that the adverb eksar was more wide-spread in the earlier phases of Modern Indo-Aryan, and that like its Prakrit prototype ekkasariam it could occasionally be used adjectivally: in the Old Gujerati of the Gurjararāsāvalī 16 there appears a nominative plural ekkasarā 'all at one time.' The change in the final syllable of the word eksar < ekkasariam shows that there may have been some confusion with the very similar word ekkasara(ka) $> eksar(\bar{a}) > modern \ aksar, \ iksar 'single,' 'un$ divided.' The adverb eksar 'all at once,' 'all together' has caused analogical developments among Indo-Arvan period. numerals in the dialects of Hindi: for instance the adverbial forms do-sar 'doubly,' and ti-sar 'triply' in Bhojpurī are almost certainly based on eksar 'all together.'

Although the Prakrit words ekkasara(ka) 'single' and ekkasariam 'at once' help to illuminate the main features of the development of the new ordinals dūsrā and tīsrā and of the adverbs dosar and tisar, there are still many side-forms to be investigated in Middle Indo-Aryan. These may in turn shed some light on the early history of the modern words. Among the most interesting of the Middle Indo-Aryan forms is the isolated word dosa, which is found only in the Deśināmamālā (5.56). It was obviously regarded as of Deśī origin by Hemacandra and is given as an equivalent of ardha 'half.' The similarity with do 'two' makes it almost certain that this is an Indo-Aryan word. Ordinals are used in Indo-Aryan as in a number of other languages to form the names of the fractions. This applies less to '3' than to the other names of fractions, as there is usually a specialised word for 'half.' There are however instances in Sanskrit quoted by Wackernagel 19 of the use of dvitīva 'second' in the sense of 'half.' There is thus a possibility that dosa was based on

The Modern Indo-Aryan series typified by the Hindi iksar, dūsrā, tīsrā, causar, 'single,' 'second,' derived, like the series iksar, etc., from the cardinal from Sanskrit dvidha 'split in two,' with replacement of dvi- by the Prakrit cardinal numeral do. The pleonastic adjectival suffix -ra (see above) was added to form the new word doharā > dohrā 'twofold.' The Middle Indo-Aryan adverbs dohā

tinues to exist as sari 'like,' 'similar' in modern final -ra, which was felt to be a suffixal element Nepali. There are signs of its survival in other (cf. its use in doha-rā below). Tagare 20 lists the modern languages, as for instance in Kumaonī, suffix -ra as being a rarely used pleonastic suffix which has the extended form sariko. There is thus in Apabhramsa. -ra was frequent in Sanskrit as a possessive adjectival suffix and there is no doubt that it was very much further extended as a suffix Ekkasariam 'simultaneously,' 'at once' has sur- in the Modern Indo-Arvan languages. It is therefore possible that dosa was a back-formation from dosarā 'second' and belonged to such low strata of the language that it was thought to be a Deśi word. A number of Deśi words can be explained in this way: some have been recognised as Indo-Aryan long ago by Pischel,21 while others have been examined more recently, especially by P. Tedesco.22 Dosa 'half' may therefore be considered as an indication-however uncertain-of the existence of * $dosara(ka) > dosar\bar{a}$ 'second' before the time of Hemacandra, and it tends to show that the analogy of ekkasara(ka), which brought about the formation of the new ordinal numerals, belonged to the Apabhramsa rather than the Modern

> 'third' and 'fourfold (of a necklace)' has a close parallel in the series typified by the Hindi ekahra. dohrā, tehrā and cauhrā, 'single,' 'twofold,' 'threefold,' 'fourfold.' In Bengali these words appear with a long -ā- in the penultimate syllable: ekahārā, dohārā, tehārā and cauhārā. This group of words is explained by S. K. Chatterji as being numerals, but with the addition of the suffix -hara, which he equates with the agentive suffix -hārā. There is no evidence in Middle Indo-Aryan to support this view. R. L. Turner suggested that the modern Hindi dohrā 'twofold' was based on the Middle Indo-Arvan adjective *doha 'twofold,'

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when the adverbs dohā and tihā were still pronounced with a long final vowel, which influenced the new adjectives. The development of *tiha+ ra > tehrā, Bengali tehārā, was exactly parallel to that of dohrā, Bengali dohārā. The analogy of these forms has spread to the remainder of the

first four numerals, whence Hindi ekahrā 'single'

'doubly' and tihā. Pali tidhā 'triply' from San-

and cauhrā 'fourfold' and the corresponding Bengali forms, but the analogy was not extended to the higher numerals. The new adjectives ekahrā, dohrā, tehrā and cauhrā just like iksar, dūsrā, tīsrā and causar show that the first four numbers were felt to be a group in Indo-Aryan, a series par excellence. They are also a further indication of the tendency in late Middle Indo-Aryan to replace etymological forms of numerical adjectives by "motivated" words based on the cardinal numerals.

²⁰ G. V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa (Poona, 1948), p. 341.

²¹ Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra, ed. R. Pischel, 2nd ed., Bombay Sanskrit XVII (1938), p. 8.

²² In his article "Sanskrit unch- 'to gleam,' " JAOS 77.3 (1957), for instance, P. Tedesco derives the Dési word punch- 'to wipe' from Indo-Arvan.

skrit dvidhā and tridhā, probably also played some part in the formation of the new adjectives. The long vowel in the Bengali words dohārā, etc., may indicate that these words date back to the period

¹⁹ Wackernagel III, p. 412.

by

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Melhourne

Complaints have sometimes been made that the so-called "sporadic changes" which include assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis and epenthesis have not been studied as thoroughly as the regular sound-changes. This applies as much to Middle Indo-Aryan as to other languages. The Prakrit grammarians have simply listed such sporadic changes as exceptions to the general rules, and the modern grammars have taken over their lists with some additional examples. This is true for instance of the cases of sporadic change of the vowel u which are listed by Pischel.² This article represents an attempt at a further analysis of some of the problems involved.

While Pischel simply lists the cases where the Sanskrit vowel u has been replaced by other vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan, some more recent grammars make confusing statements to the effect that u becomes a "by dissimilation or assimilation". Some of this confusion comes from a failure to distinguish between two different processes, dissimilation and differentiation. Differentiation occurs when two similar sounds are in immediate contact and the speakers distinguish between the two sounds, thereby changing the phonetic characteristics of one of them. Meillet³ and Grammont⁴ consider differentiation as the reverse of assimilation: differentiation is a means by which assimilation is avoided and it helps to preserve the identity of the word which might be lost if assimilation took place. On the other hand dissimilation occurs when two identical sounds are close together, yet not in contact, and there is a tendency to avoid the repetition of the one sound. This might be considered as a more truly

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sporadic change than differentiation, it is often merely due to a slip of the tongue and is linked with the subconscious dislike of repetition.⁵

On the basis of this definition it is clear that cases of dissimilation of vowels are quite common in some languages as in French: Fr. selon < *soblongu < sublongum; secousse < *soccossa < succussa; devin < divinum. In these and many parallel cases the unaccented vowel has been altered before a similar accented vowel. In the history of Middle Indo-Aryan such developments are extremely rare. There seems to have been singularly little feeling against the frequent repetition of vowels: in fact in many of the onomatopoeic words where other languages sometimes have a variation of vowels (as in the famous examples of English tick-tock, French tic-tac) Middle Indo-Aryan generally repeats the same vowel. Words like misimisemane (Nāyādhammakahāo), and simisimiya (Paümacariya 105.55) from Sanskrit simasimāya- 'crackling' and kidikidiābhūe from kitikitika- 'rattling', and kirikiria 'whispering' are familiar to readers of the Jain canon. The frequent use of such onomatopoeias is characteristic especially of Apabhramsa, where we find for instance ihalajhalai 'to splash', gulugulai 'trumpeting (of elephants)', kilikilai 'to shout for joy' and very many others. Even when the vowels are later altered, which is usual in onomatopoeias where the consonants are most expressive, the vowels still remain repetitive: jhirimiri 'drizzle' which occurs in the Old Gujarati of the Sthūlibhadraphāgu, gives modern Gujarati iharmar; rimijhimi gives modern Gujarati rumjhum.6 In the ordinary words of the language, outside the realm of onomatopoeia, there is also very little evidence of a dislike of repetition of vowels and of dissimilation.

There are in fact few clear examples of dissimilation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan. Some apparent examples have often been explained by other causes. Pkt. garua 'heavy' is now generally derived not from garu(ka), but from the 'guna' form of the word, which is found in the Sanskrit comparative and superlative garīyas and gariṣṭha. The fact that the vowel a of the initial syllable is found only in the lengthened form garua and not in guru⁸ does make it highly unlikely that this is a simple

¹ For the most recent comments on this subject see R. R. Posner, Consonantal Dissimilation in the Romance Languages (= Publications of the Philological Society, XIX) (London, 1961), p. 2.

² R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen (Strassburg, 1900), § 123-4 and § 126.

³ A. Meillet, "De la différenciation des phonèmes", MSL, XII, p. 14ff.

⁴ M. Grammont, Traité de Phonétique (3rd. ed. Paris, 1946), p. 229 ff.

⁵ For references to some of the theories in connection with dissimilation cf. R. Posner, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

⁶ Śri-Sthūlibhadra-phāgu, ed. H. C. Bhayani in the Quarterly of the Śri Karbasa Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1954.

⁷ See for instance M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948), p. 7.

⁸ There are some very isolated instances of the use of garu, instead of guru, particularly in the Pali expression agaru 'not troublesome'. See F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (Newhaven, 1953) s.v. aguru.

example of vocalic dissimilation and certainly points to the influence of the longer derivatives of the word which had the vowel a in the initial syllable, that is the forms garivas and garistha, already quoted, as well as other derivatives, especially gariman 'weight' > Pkt garima, and garitya 'weight': the longer form garuka was associated with this group rather than with the simple word guru which survived in Middle Indo-Aryan as guru. The Prakrit word purisa, Pali porisa, from purusa 'man' is at least partially due to the substitution of the more usual suffix -isa (e.g. as found in words like erisa, harisa); -usa was also replaced by -asa in pharasa < parusa 'rough'. The unusual development in the first syllable of the Pali form porisa has been explained by H. Berger on the basis of the generalisation of the metrically long Vedic form pūrusa.9 One of the possible cases of dissimilation of the vowel i has been interpreted as an archaic form: sadhila 'loose', which occurs in Prakrit along with the more usual sidhila < śithila, has been explained from *śṛthila 'loose', $\sqrt{$ śrath 'to become loose'. 10 Some of the other words which could be considered as examples of vocalic dissimilation are rare words, or unusual or borrowed. in any case they are words that have no strong links with others; they do not belong to a big etymological group and therefore have little support in the language and are more liable to "sporadic" changes. Such a word is the Dravidian borrowing aguru, Prakrit agaru, agalu, aguru, which was obviously influenced by Skt guru and Pkt garua with which it was associated by popular etymology. 11. Sometimes the origin of the word is so unclear that it is difficult to say which is the original vowel. This is the case for instance with the probable Munda borrowing which is represented by Vedic chubuka 'chin', Sanskrit cubuka, cibuka, Prakrit cibua. Equally uncertain are Sanskrit tumburu, Prakrit tumburu, tumbaru and timbaru, Pali timbaru 'a tree'; Sanskrit kiliñja, Prakrit and Pali kilañja; Sanskrit mucilinda, Prakrit mucilanda 'a tree' as well as Sanskrit ihillikā, Prakrit jhallikā 'an insect'. These words cannot be considered as clear examples of dissimilation of the vowels i and u, but it is probable that dissimilation did play a part in the unusual sound-changes undergone by these rare words.

Sometimes the change of vowels is due to analogical influences rather than to dissimilation: thus the Prakrit neura, niura < Sanskrit nūpura

'anklet' has been shown already by Pischel to be a remodelling under the influence of keura < keyura 'bracelet'. The phonetic development of the Prakrit bhamaya, bhumaya 'brow' is most difficult. These words are connected with Sanskrit bhrūmukha > Prakrit bhumuha, bhamuha, but the suffix -maya was substituted for the original final of the word. This is indicated already by Hemacandra (II 167). The change of bhumaya to the alternative form bhamaya is probably due to the influence of the original word bhrūmukha > bhamuha 'brow'. The development of bhrūmukha to bhamuha represents what is perhaps the only clear example of vocalic dissimilation in Middle Indo-Arvan. It is typical of examples that abound in other languages, the change being regressive rather than progressive: the earlier of two sounds is altered rather than the later, because of the tendency of the speakers to think ahead.12 The word bhamuha had become completely dissociated from the original bhrū 'brow' and was therefore liable to further sporadic changes in Apabhramśa, where it appears as bhoha. The scarcity of examples shows that dissimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan was very rare indeed, probably in the spoken as well as the written language. The infrequency of vocalic dissimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan, as opposed to the Romance languages for instance, may be explained by the more even accentuation of Middle Indo-Aryan: whereas particularly in French the stress accent was so heavy that vowels in unaccented syllables, preceding the stressed vowels, tended to be dissimi-

It would appear that differentiation on the other hand was not so infrequent in Middle Indo-Aryan, though it has not usually been recognised as such. The most common kind of differentiation is of the type mukula > muula > maüla 'bud', where the first of the two vowels u is altered as much as it possibly can be and loses its major phonetic characteristics: it is unrounded as well as lowered, becoming a which for some time at least was pronounced in a separate syllable from the following u. There are a number of very similar cases: mukuta 'diadem' appears as maüda in Ardhamāgadhī as well as in later Jain texts. mukunda 'a kind of drum' becomes maunda, mukura becomes maüra. Some of these words appear in lexical Sanskrit with the vowel a in the first syllable, and sometimes also in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, e.g. makuta 'crest', 'diadem' (Divyāvadāna), makura 'mirror', 'bud' (lexical Sanskrit), and it is probable that the vowel a in the initial syllable of these forms is due to the

⁹ H. Berger, "Pali porisa 'Mensch'", Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens, I, 1957.

¹⁰ R. L. Turner, Dictionary of the Nepali Language (London, 1931), s.v. dhilo.

¹¹ For *aguru* as a Dravidian loan-word see T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (London, 1955), p. 380, and for some of the further history of the word see Jean Filliozat "L'Agalloche et les Manuscrits sur Bois dans l'Inde", *J.A.*, 1958, pp. 85ff.

The tendency for dissimilation to be regressive rather than progressive is discussed by R. G. Kent in *Language* XII, pp. 245–258.

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influence of Middle Indo-Aryan. It is possible that kutūhala < kohala 'pleasure', 'curiosity' shows the same type of differentiation, as suggested by Pischel, and that kutūhala was changed to *kaühala, whence kohala. The occurrence of the variant form kouhalla in Hemacandra's grammar and of koūhala in the Jain canon might suggest that in some areas perhaps the differentiation did not go so far in this word, and the u of the initial syllable was only lowered to o, and not lowered further and unrounded to a. It is however more likely that the word $kut\bar{u}hala > kohala$ does not represent a straight-forward example of differentiation, but shows the influence of the derivative abstract noun kautūhala > koūhala 'curiosity': this is almost certainly the case in the Saurasenī and Jain Saurasenī form kodūhala. The usual Prakrit and Apabhramśa word somāla 'tender' has been explained by Pischel as being parallel in development to kohala: sukumāra > suumāra, suumāla > saümāra > somāla, except that in this case the intermediate form saümāra is actually attested in Māhārāṣṭrī (Setubandha). Professor Alsdorf¹³ has suggested a different etymology for the word somāla, namely saumya + āla. Even if one is persuaded by the presence of the intermediate form saümāra that the old derivation from sukumāra 'tender' is probably correct, it is very likely that the word sukumāra > somāla was at least associated by the speakers with saumya > soma 'good', 'gentle' and this may account for the prevalence of the form somāla rather than saümāra.

Although the usual process of differentiation of u-u is thus to aü there are some other cases where it seems that the second of the two vowels has been differentiated to a. The noun dukūla 'a kind of cloth' appears in Middle Indo-Aryan as duūla (Hāla), dugulla (Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāstrī) and dualla (Hemacandra). This last form is almost certainly due to the substitution of the suffix -alla for the final ūla, -ulla; the influence of the two other words of similar meaning ambara > ambala (Pali) 'cloth', 'garment' and kambala 'blanket', 'woollen garment' was probably not instrumental in this substitution, as these two words do not show a double l in their final. Jugupsā > dugumchā, du(g)amchā 'disdain' is also an example of the complete remodelling of a word rather than simple differentiation; the initial syllable was obviously influenced by the pejorative prefix dur > du. There is thus little doubt that the usual differentiation of u-u was to aü. There is a further and barely recognisable example of such a differentiation in saurisa 'a good man' which occurs in Jain Māhārāstrī and Māhārāstrī. This is probably not always to be derived from satpuruşa, but sometimes corresponds to supuruşa, which appears also as suurisa and sūrisa (Hc. I.8).

The two vowels au occurring in hiatus formed a most distinctive group: they were as far apart in pronunciation as possible, and because of this distinctiveness the grouping seems to have been favoured in Middle Indo-Aryan. The same applies to the vowels at in hiatus, though perhaps to a slightly lesser degree owing to the probable frontal articulation of the short a in Middle Indo-Aryan. These two groups, ai and aü thus became very prominent in Prakrit and Apabhramsa. They were pronounced in many tatsama words from Sanskrit which had originally contained the diphthongs ai and au that had disappeared from the language by Middle Indo-Aryan. aü was quite particularly frequent, and only in some cases the variant semi-tatsama form with o was allowed by the grammarians: aï was slightly less common and the variants containing e were used more freely.15 The groups aü and aï were also introduced in some cases by differentiation, not only in the examples of $u-u > a\ddot{u}$ listed above, but also in a few words where there has been further differentiation from eu and ei, by the lowering of e to a in contrast with the following higher vowels. This might account for the unusual form auna, from euna, eguna < ekona 'lacking one' which is found in numerical compounds in the Jain canon. as for instance in aunattīsa 'twenty-nine' (Nāyādhammakahāo). The meaning of the word auna renders the derivation from aguna, suggested by Pischel, quite impossible. 16 By a change very similar to that of ekona > eūna to aüna, Prakrit chaïlla (Gujarati chel) has replaced chei(l)la from Sanskrit chekila 'clever'.

A most striking instance of the way in which the distinctive group of vowels $a\ddot{u}$ was favoured in Middle Indo-Aryan is shown by the cases in which the u was due to the vocalisation of labial consonants. After vowels other than a such vocalisations do not seem to have occurred until very late in Apabhramśa and in the modern Indo-Aryan languages; thus $sapatn\bar{i}$ 'rival wife' became $savatt\bar{i}$ and $sa\ddot{u}tt\bar{i}$ in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī ($Sup-\bar{a}san\bar{a}hacaria$), pravahana 'ship' became $pa\ddot{u}hana$, navati 'ninety' became $na\ddot{u}i$. When following on vowels other than a, the labial consonants do not undergo such a development until considerably later, if at all, and we for instance always find devara 'husband's younger brother', and sevava

¹³ Harivaṃśapurāṇa von Puṣpadanta, ed. Ludwig Alsdorf (Hamburg, 1936), Glossary s.v. sōmāla.

<sup>For the pronunciation of short a in Sanskrit see W. S. Allen, Sandhi (The Hague, 1962), p. 30, and P. Thieme, Pāṇini and the Veda (Allahabad, 1935), pp. 89 ff. and 118 ff.
R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 58.</sup>

¹⁶ Cf. R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, Fasc. II (London, 1963), s.v. ekona. The Old Hindi forms agunis etc. might be explicable by a contamination between aiina and eguna.

'servant' (apart from an isolated example of seuva < seveka in the Kalpasūtra)17 and vevava < vepaka 'shivering' in Middle Indo-Aryan, and forms such as deurānī < devarānī 'husband's younger brother's wife'. and diũso (Nepali) < divasa 'day' are not usual till the modern languages.

When the intervocalic consonants of Sanskrit weakened, and in the case of dentals, gutturals and y disappeared, the use of vowels in hiatus, practically unknown within Sanskrit words, became a prominent feature of the phonetic system. The groups of vowels with the maximum phonetic difference aü and to a slightly lesser extent aï were particularly favoured. The frequent use of ai and au was all-important in lending a certain stability to Apabhramsa, where ai was the final of the nominative singular of all extended masculine nouns, and ai was the final of the third person singular of the verb. Apart form the cases where aü and aï resulted from 'regular' sound-changes there are also some words, as shown above, where they are due to differentiation, which therefore has a certain significance in the phonetic development of Middle Indo-Aryan. Vocalic dissimilation on the other hand is so rare as to be insignificant: the extreme scarcity of vocalic dissimilation is connected with the absence of a heavy stress accent in Middle Indo-Aryan.

deula < devakula has been omitted from this discussion, as it probably represents a development de(va)-(k)ula > deula, with elision of the syllable va as in deva > de, see Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume (Bombay, 1963), p. 216.

THE MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN PREFIX vo- 'OFF' AND SOME PHONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH IT

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DENCE as to what the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects really sounded like. Writers of works in Prakrit often justify their use of that language by general statements such as parusā sankkiabandhā, pāüdabandho bi hoi suumāro 'works in Sanskrit are hard, a Prakrit work is delicate' (Rājaśekhara, Karpūramañjarī Act. I), or they describe a Prakrit poem as mahurakkharachandasamthiyam laliyam 'pleasing and made up of verses consisting of sweet-sounding syllables' (Jayavallabha, Vajjālaggam v. 28). But even in the works of the Prakrit grammarians detailed statements on pronunciation are lacking. It is quite clear from the evidence of the texts that have come down to us that marked differences existed between the phonemic system of Sanskrit and that of the Middle Indo-Arvan languages. The general distribution of phonemes shows even greater divergence: as is well known some combinations of sounds such as complex consonantal clusters were common in Sanskrit, but did not figure normally in Middle Indo-Aryan. On the other hand certain soundcombinations that did not exist in Sanskrit, or were very rare, have become more frequent. The reasons underlying these developments may help to throw some light on the pronunciation of Middle Indo-Arvan. It is proposed to examine one such instance here.

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It is well known that b was comparatively rare in Indo-European, and it is not surprising that this feature of the older language should be reflected in Indo-Iranian: not many Vedic and Sanskrit words contain b. In Avestan the situation has been obscured by the change of bh to b, and the voiced labial plosive is therefore quite usual. It is perhaps not so obvious, but equally clear from a glance at any Sanskrit dictionary, that initial vu- and yi- are totally absent in Vedic and Sanskrit, while initial ye- and vo- are rare. There are some cases where y occurs before i in

THERE IS MUCH INDIRECT AND VAGUE EVI- other positions, particularly as a glide (e.g., Vedic rayis < *raHis), but some of these are comparatively late formations such as mayi and tvayi, the latter first appeared in the Atharva Veda.1 The reason for the scarcity of the sound-combinations vi. vu and vo in Sanskrit is probably connected with the fact that y and v had distinctly vocalic qualities in the older forms of Indo-Aryan, and as has often been pointed out, they could be syllabic in Vedic poetry.2 Contrasting vowels were therefore favoured after these semi-vowels, particularly in the important initial position. There was little tendency towards the kind of assimilation that is found in some corresponding Avestan forms: Av. Yima, Skt. Yama, Av. yezi Skt. yadi, and probably Av. vohu. \(\sqrt{van}\). There is some evidence that y and v were more tensely articulated in initial position, and particularly in the post-Vedic period there was beginning to be a marked difference in articulation between initial and medial semivowels. W. S. Allen³ has shown incontrovertibly that there was a much greater degree of closure in the articulation of the initial y and v than there was in medial position; and it has been shown by Varma4 on the evidence of the Prātiśākhyas that at least for the initial position Brugmann's theory was right and v- initial was pronounced as a voiced labio-dental fricative in the post-Vedic period. The result of this change of articulation of initial v was that its use with a non-contrasting vowel was more readily tolerated.

In Sanskrit words inherited from Indo-Euro-

¹ T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language (London, 1955),

² J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I (rev. ed. Göttingen, 1957), p. 202.

³ W. S. Allen, Phonetics in Ancient India (London, 1953), pp. 27 ff.

⁴ Siddeshwar Varma, Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians (first Indian ed., Delhi, 1961), pp. 129 ff.

In Prakrit on the other hand initial vu- did occur and initial vo- was by no means uncommon. In some cases vo- represents a regular phonetic development of earlier forms, e.g., Sanskrit vyoman > Prakrit voma 'sky;' in others it almost certainly represents borrowing from non-Indo-Aryan languages, e.g., Prakrit vodraha (or bodraha), and voraccha both meaning 'young man.'6

The most frequent use of vo- initial in Prakrit is however as a verbal prefix. In a number of cases the origins of this prefix are perfectly clear, and there are obvious antecedents in the earlier language. The corresponding verbs in Sanskrit are used with the prefixes vyava-, vyapa-; thus vocchindai < vyava + chid- 'to cut off,' and the past participle vocchinna < vyavachinna are very frequent in Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāstrī and Māhārāstrī (e.g., in the Rāvanavaho); vokkasei < vyapakarsayati 'to remove, get rid of' is also common in Middle Indo-Arvan; vosido < vyavasita 'decided' occurs in the Gandhari Dharmapada (v. 5); vodāna < vyavadāna 'destruction of actions' and vosamiya < vyavaśamita 'finished off, extinguished' occur in Ardhamagadhi and Jain Māhārāstrī. It is probably on the analogy of these and similar forms that vyuparamana 'destruction of a living creature' always appears as voramana in Jain texts.

The case of the verb vosarai, vosirai 'to leave' is rather more complex. The Prakrit grammarians and the older glossaries generally derive these forms from vuava-sri- 'to dismiss.' Pischel showed a long time ago that these Prakrit words probably represent the blending of several verbal roots: he suggested srj- 'to leave,' and sr- 'to run' (cf. Prakrit sarai).8 The presence of the forms viyosita, vivosidavo 'to be handed over (of a payment)' in the Niva texts has rendered the problem much more complex, and T. Burrow was led to the conclusion that yet another verb was involved. and that the verb from which both vivosita and the Prakrit verb vosirai were derived was vyavaśravati. The past participle vyavaśrita regularly became viyosita in Niya Prakrit. This derivation would provide a means of accounting for the presence of the vowel -i- in the stem of the verb vosirai in Middle Indo-Aryan, and it is supported by the words osarati, osirati, osirati quoted by Burrow from the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of

the Mahavastu. Burrow interprets the -i- in the prefix vava- and the popular vo- has naturally disapvyavaśrayati > vosirai. Later vosirai and vosarai became gradually confused in meaning and form. In some parts of the verb vosarai, vosirai, the origin from separate Sanskrit verbs is still clearly visible: thus Prakrit vosattha 'left' is almost certainly derived from vyavasrsta, and the absolutive vosijja from vyavasriya, while there is an alternative absolutive vosirittā from vyavaśri-. But the evidence of the forms visarai 'to go away' (from vi + sr-) and visarai 'to fall' (from vi + śri-) shows that in Middle Indo-Aryan the verbs sr- 'to run' and śri- 'to rest on, to direct towards' were hopelessly confused, and this strengthens the case for the complex origin of vosarai, vosirai from the verbs sr- and śri- with some influence of sri-.

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From the use of verbs such as the ones listed, which began with the prefix vo-, derived from vyava-, vyapa-, it became apparent that there was in Middle Indo-Aryan a prefix vo- which implied 'off,' 'away' and was rather more emphatic than vi-. This new prefix was then added to other verbs in Prakrit and Apabhramsa and became almost the rule with certain verbs with which its meaning blended particularly well. This new prefix vo- was felt to be distinct from the original prefix vi-, and from vyava-, vyapawhich have survived in an uncontracted form, perhaps as a semi-learned formation. In this uncontracted form vava- the meaning 'off.' 'away' is not usually very clear. Thus vavasāya < vyavasāya 'decision' is always found in that form in Jain Māhārāstrī, and not *vosāya; vavahāra < vyavahāra 'conduct, action' is an important technical term in Jain religious literature. When a word vohārei does occur in Apabhramśa, it has the much more concrete and forceful meaning of 'sweeping away (rubbish from a courtyard)' (Paümacariu 78.3.5.), and it is probably derived from the Middle Indo-Arvan prefix vo- combined with the verb $h\bar{a}rei$, \sqrt{hr} - 'to take away,' rather than directly from the Sanskrit vyapahārayati. The Apabhramsa word vohārai almost certainly represents the origin of Modern Hindi buhārnā 'to sweep.' The distinction between the semi-learned

stem as a svarabhakti-vowel between \$ and r: peared in the course of the development of the modern languages with the continued tendency for ava- to become o, hence Hindi bohrā < vavahārava < vvavahāraka 'a trader.'

> Sometimes it is not possible to determine with certainty whether a Middle Indo-Arvan word has been inherited from the older language, or whether it has been newly created: thus vokkanta 'gone away' might be a derivative of Sanskrit vuapakrānta, but it could also have been formed within Middle Indo-Arvan with the help of the prefix vo-. But there is a series of words in which vo- has clearly been substituted in Middle Indo-Arvan for the older and less expressive prefix vi-: thus vilīna 'disappeared' corresponds to volīņa 'past,' 'gone,'10 visattai 'to open (of blossoms)' corresponds to vosattai 'to open out (of blossoms);' visagga 'abandoning' occurs in the same texts as vosagga 'abandoning.'

The prefix vo- is often used with verbs that have no antecedent in Vedic or Sanskrit. Thus vokkhāriya 'bejewelled, decorated' is probably connected with the Deśī word khāraya 'a bud, a blossom,' The emphatic meaning of vo- is not much in evidence here, and it more or less corresponds to the meaning of vi- in vibhūsita 'adorned.' In compounds with such Deśī words and sometimes elsewhere vo- may alternate with another prefix of Middle Indo-Arvan origin, u-, which is ultimately based on ud-, upa-.11 For instance volattai 'to pour out' can hardly be separated from ullatta 'spilt, emptied'; uravia 'broken, spilt' seems to belong to the same root as voravia 'killed,' which could perhaps be regarded as a Desī word, since the standard derivation from vyaparopita 'taken away, deprived of' is not altogether satisfactory, voccinivā 'a collection of flowers' which occurs in the Līlavaīkahā, has its nearest equivalent in ucciniva 'collected' and uccinui 'to collect' (from Sanskrit $ut + \sqrt{ci}$). In very few cases the original emphatic meaning of vo- 'off, away' appears to have been lost

⁵ See Marsh, JAOS LXI pp. 45 ff, quoted by W. S. Allen, Sandhi (The Hague, 1962), p. 72. J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I, p. 39 quotes the contrasting views of Benfey, Bloomfield and others.

⁶ F. B. J. Kuiper. Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit (Amsterdam, 1948), p. 99.

⁷ The Gandhari Dharmapada, ed. J. Brough (London,

⁸ R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen (Strassburg, 1900), p. 166.

⁹ T. Burrow. The Language of the Kharosthoci Duments from Chinese Turkestan (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 121-122.

¹⁰ volīna may also be based on the Middle Indo-Aryan verb vol(l)ai 'to go', see H. C. Bhayani, Bharatiya Vidya

¹¹ See Bharatiya Vidya XVIII, pp. 25-26.

completely, as in vokkhandaya 'arriving, coming close' which is connected with ukkhanda 'attack' and ultimately with \sqrt{skand} - 'leap.' In the majority of compounds the original meaning of vois very clear. Typical of such words is the adjective vojjhara 'past, gone,' which is listed in the Deśīnāmamālā, but the derivation of this word and its connection with vojjhara 'frightened' are quite unknown.

The Jain Māhārāstrī word voccattha also means 'gone, past' and is derived from vuatyasta 'gone past.' This etymology is supported by the existence in Prakrit of a word vaccāsa < vyatyāsa 'change.' The prefix vo- 'off, away' was introduced into the word voccattha as it seemed to fit in particularly well with the meaning, and there were a number of near synonyms beginning with vo-: volīna, volia, vojjhara 'gone.' One might feel tempted to believe that the use of the form voccattha instead of *vaccattha, which would have been the normal derivative of vyatyasta, was not due to the influence of the prefix vo-, but to a possible rounding of the vowel a to o, brought about by the initial labial consonant. But such a tendency to rounding seems to have been almost unknown in Middle Indo-Arvan. In most cases where one might suspect rounding there is a more probable alternative explanation. Sanskrit vahitra 'a boat' is usually represented in Middle Indo-Aryan by vohittha 'a boat.' The change of a to o in this word has now been explained by H. C. Bhayani¹² as due to the influence of vodha and other parts of the verb vah- 'to transport, convey' with which it was still associated. The history of the late Middle Indo-Aryan verbs vollai 'to walk' and vollai 'to speak' is very complex, but the presence of the vowel o in these verbs is unlikely to be simply due to labialisation. If one were to accept the view that vollai 'to speak' is ultimately based on \sqrt{vac} -13 the o would seem to be due to the analogy of those parts of the verb that contained -o-, e.g., Sanskrit avocat, whence also the Middle Indo-Arvan infinitive

vottum, the future vocchāmi, etc. The verb vollai 'to walk' which may have been based on \(\sqrt{vrai} \)followed this analogy. Very similar in development is the rare word votavi < vaptavyam 'what is to be woven,' which occurs in the Gandhari Dharmapada (v. 149), votavi has been explained by J. Brough⁷ as derived from the rare verb vap- 'to weave,' the vocalism being influenced by Prakrit odu, which represents either the past participle otam 'woven', or the noun otu 'weft.' The modern Marathi word ovi. Gujarati ovi. the form oviā appearing in the Deśīnāmamālā. and the older Marathi vovī 'a verse' may all be connected with the verb ve- 'to weave' and the same past participle otam 'woven', with some hesitation over the presence or absence of the initial consonant. The Prakrit word voiiha 'load' (Hindi boih) is very similar in formation: it is derived from the obligatory participle vahya 'that which is to be carried.' (\square\nu vah), which was influenced by the past participle vodha and the infinitive vodhum. On this verbal noun voiiha 'load' there was based a new Middle Indo-Arvan verb vojihai 'to carry.'

Some of the other words in which there might appear to be evidence of labialisation of a to o by a preceding v, are either of restricted occurrence or of very uncertain origin. Thus vorāhiu 'swine, sows,' which occurs just once in the Apabhramsa of the Paümacariu of Svayambhūdeva, appears to be connected with the Sanskrit word varāha 'boar.' A few words of unknown origin might show this type of rounding, but none of the available examples are convincing: thus Sanskrit batu 'a lad' is almost certainly related to Prakrit vodraha, voraccha,6 but the change in the vowel might well be connected with the possible Munda origin of this word. A few Prakrit verbs are most difficult to explain in this respect: they are vijiai, vojiai 'to fan' (Sanskrit vīj-), and vujiai, vojjai (Sanskrit vij-) 'to fear,' as well as the past participle vunna, vunna (Sanskrit vigna) and voijira 'frightened.' All these forms do seem to show some kind of labialisation after the initial v-, but other influences are not excluded, and it is difficult for instance to dissociate this group of words from vojjhara 'frightened.' Although it

is so rare after initial v-, labialisation does seem to occur in close proximity with other labial consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan, 14 and a is occasionally changed to u as in pudhama < prathama 'first.'

As shown above, the phonetic causes which favoured the use of a contrasting vowel after initial v had disappeared early. It is therefore not surprising that Middle Indo-Aryan should be tolerant of initial vu- and vo-. But apart from the very noticeable extension of the prefix vo- 'off, away,' discussed above, the sound-combinations vu- and vo- were not very common and there was no general tendency towards rounding of a after v.

From these indications it would appear that initial v was pronounced without lip-rounding in Middle Indo-Aryan and that it was probably still a labio-dental fricative. This view is confirmed by the conclusions of H. Berger, ¹⁵ who

showed that the change of r to u was usual after p and b, but not after v. While this evidence may be regarded as conclusive only for the early and formative years of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, it would make us inclined to attribute a rather late Apabhramśa date to the further change in pronunciation by which initial v may have developed into an unrounded bilabial fricative β ; with complete closure in articulation it ultimately became identical with b over large parts of Eastern India.

The Middle Indo-Aryan developments show that there has also been a radical change in the phonemic system. The Old Indo-Aryan system contained two semivowels which were closely parallel and were mainly used with contrasting vowels in the initial position. y probably ceased to have any independent phonemic value in most Middle Indo-Aryan languages; but the history of the prefix vo- helps to show that initial v remained distinct as a labio-dental for a considerable period.

¹² Paümacariu of Svayambhūdeva, ed. H. C. Bhayani, Vol. III (Bombay, 1960), p. 324.

¹³ "Notes on Some Middle Indo-Aryan Words in -ll-," JAOS 77, p. 205.

¹⁴ R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁵ H. Berger, Zwei Probleme der Mittelindischen Lautlehre, (Munich, 1955), pp. 51 ff.

A STUDY OF SOME FEATURES OF THE IMPERATIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

THE IMPERATIVE OCCUPIES A unique position in the conjugation system. In its real function it implies the presence of a speaker issuing a command to one or more listeners, or making an order referring to a third person or persons. This means that the conjugation tends to be defective. Because of its immediate association with the speaker the imperative is generally linked with the present tense, but through its meaning it is also associated with the future tense. The uncertainty of whether a command will be carried out links the imperative with the subjunctive, while the idea of volition brings it close to the optative. These special features and varying associations make the history of the imperative extremely complex in Middle Indo-Aryan as in other languages. An attempt is made here to study two aspects of this history; the use of the subject pronoun with the imperative, and the distribution of the forms of the second person singular of the imperative. Other features of the imperative, in particular its relation to the passive, will be discussed later.

One of the interesting features of the use of the imperative in Middle Indo-Aryan is the frequent occurrence of the pronominal subject. As has often been pointed out in works on syntax, this usage was not unheard of in the classical languages including Sanskrit, but in all cases it seems to have been confined to popular speech and does not generally figure in the more stylized texts in these languages: e.g. Latin narra tu mihi (Cic.) "tell thou me", Sanskrit mā tvam vairāgyam gaccha (Kathāsaritsāgara) "do not thou grow weary of life".2 This type of construction is very frequent indeed in Prakrit, particularly in Ardhamāgadhī and in Jain Māhārāstrī, as can be illustrated by numerous examples from the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, both from the older and the more recent sections: Se nam paro nāvāgao nāvāgavam vadejjā: āusamto samanā, evam tā tumam chattagam vā cammachevanagam vā ginhāhi, eyāni tumam virūvarūvāni satthajāvāni dhārehi, eyam vā tumam dāragam vā pajjehi, tusinio uvehejjā. "Another passenger may say to him as he is sitting in the boat: 'Venerable monk, take thou this parasol or this rug, hold thou these various weapons, give thou this child a drink,' but he should look on silently." (Avārangasutta, II.3.2.)

Especially frequent in the canon is the phrase: gacchaha nam tubbhe devānuppivā. "go ye, beloved of the gods," which generally introduces instructions to the household servants (e.g. Nāyadhammakahāo I.16). Similar examples are found in Jain Saurasenī, though perhaps not quite as abundantly, e.g. jinasu tumam, "conquer thou" (Bhagayatī Ārādhanā, v. 1447). In the other literary Prakrit dialects this usage is also found, though less generally, as in Saurasenī: tam tumam labhasu, "take thou this" (Karpūramañjarī, Act I), and there are also instances in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, e.g. na tuyam manasīkara. "do not concern yourself with it."3

¹ H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, Part VI: Syntax (Heidelberg, 1934), p. 154.

The pronoun may precede the verb, as in the long example from the Ayārangasutta quoted above, or it may follow the verb as in some of the other examples and in fairly usual types of Ardhamāgadhī phrases like: paccapināhi nam tumam Dovaim devim, "bring thou back Queen Draupadi" (Nāvadhammakahāo XVI). There is nevertheless some uniformity in the position of the pronoun subject of the imperative in early Prakrit. It usually follows the first word of a clause, or is separated from the first word only by a particle, especially the emphatic particle nam. This rule may be seen to apply in all the examples quoted above. The regularity with which the pronoun subject of the imperative occupies this position is closely related to the unstylized usage of Sanskrit and of the classical languages. This second position in the sentence is generally unaccented, and it would seem in fact that the pronoun subject of the imperative was used to give personal emphasis to the command, but was not itself heavily accented. Particularly in the singular the imperative of the second person was distinctive in form, and in the plural it was identical only with the second person plural of the indicative in Prakrit, so there was no formal need for the pronoun to indicate the person of the subject: it was purely a matter of emphasis characteristic of popular style, and this emphasis became very frequent in Ardhamagadhi and Jain Maharastri.

In the meantime the popular language developed further and some of the changes are reflected in later and unstylized Prakrit texts. Here the use of the pronoun subject of the imperative is much rarer, and is on the whole confined to cases where there is a contrast between persons. This is particularly marked in popular Māhārāstrī prose, e.g. in the Kuvalayamālā1: deva, aham ceva vaccāmi, cittha tumam, "sir, I alone am going, stay thou" (157.5), or again in contrast to the speaker, senāvaino, vaccaha, nivattaha tubbhe, "generals, go, return ye" (146.7). The construction with the pronoun subject of the imperative is practically missing from a popular text like the Vasudevahindi, but it does occur in a later semi-stylized Māhārāṣṭrī work, the Līlāvaīkahā: mā tamma tumam, ma jhūrasu, mā vimuñca attāṇaṃ, "do not falter, do not faint, do not abandon thyself" (v. 573). It is noticeable that here the pronoun subject tumam no longer occupies the second position in the clause. It is in fact characteristic of these later popular texts that the pronoun subject, when used. appears almost invariably at the beginning or the end of the sentence: e.g. in the Caüppannamahāpurisacariyam,2 where it is used to mark contrast, ciṭṭhasu tumam, jāva aham chiviūnam uyagam āgacchāmi, "you stay, while I wash and come back again" (p. 160), gavesaïssāmi ham ti, tumam puņa . . . citthasu, "I will go and search, you stay" (p. 161), and also tumam tam eva pucchāhi, "you indeed ask her" (p. 157), where the pronoun subject is clearly in the initial position. The construction in which the pronoun subject of the imperative occupied the second position had earlier been a mark of colloquial speech, but became so general in Jaina Prakrit that it was ultimately felt to be both stylized and meaningless and ceased to be a popular feature. The use of the pronoun subject later gradually came back into the language in cases where a contrast between persons was to be emphasized, but it tended to remain outside the sentence, either at the beginning or at the end.

² Caüppannamahāpurisacariyam, ed. A. M. Bhojak, Prakrit Text Society Series no. 3 (Benares, 1961).

² Quoted as an example of the use of the imperative with the prohibitive particle $m\bar{a}$ by J. S. Speyer,

Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax (Strassburg, 1896), p. 58.

3 Quoted by F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (New Haven, 1953), p. 203. This example is based on an emendation and a more definite case is given on p. 108: sa tva mañjuśiri precha sūdhana, "do thou, O Sūdhana, ask Manjuśrī."

¹ Quotations from Prakrit and Apabhramsa texts are taken from the standard critical editions, notably those in the Singhī Jain Series. The Kuvalayamālā, edited by A. N. Upadhye (Bombay, 1959), forms vol.

Apabhramsa continues the tendencies shown by the later popular Prakrit texts, and the use of the pronoun subject of the imperative is rare. When the pronoun occurs it occupies an initial or final position in the sentence. At least in some cases it may have had a vocative function.1 Examples are: tuham appunu jāevi levi ehi, "you yourself go and bring him in" (Karakandacariu of Kanakāmara 4.3); kari jayakaru tuhum, "shout hail" (Paümacariu of Svayambhūdeva 12.10.9); tuhũ hōhi deva khayarāhirāu, "o lord, be thou king of the Vidyādharas" (Harivamsapurāna of Puspadanta 91.11.6), and bhanu bhanu Saccahāme, saccau tuhū, "oh Satyabhāmā, speak thou the truth" (ibid. 88.19.8). In the last two sentences the use of the pronoun subject is associated with the vocative. There are only very few instances in Apabhramsa where the pronoun subject of the imperative does occur in the middle of the sentence, but then it is always linked with the vocative, e.g. jam jāṇahi tam pahu tuhũ mi kare, "o lord, do thou as thou knowest" (Paümacariu 6.16.8), and mahu taniya pihimi tuhum bhuñje bhāya, "o brother, enjoy thou (sovereignty over) my country" (ibid. 4.12.6).

A STUDY OF SOME FEATURES OF THE IMPERATIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

In Apabhramśa even some of the singular endings used for the imperative were no longer distinguishable from the indicative, e.g. -ahi was used for both moods, and the distinction between the two moods must have been mainly prosodic. It is also possible that occasionally in Apabhramsa texts we may glimpse an incipient tendency to differentiate between the two moods by the use of the pronoun subject, which was more usual in the indicative than in the imperative: for instance in one passage of the Paümacariu of Svayambhūdeva (19.15) there are two indicatives with the pronoun subject of the second person and two imperatives without subject, hā putta, putta, kahim gayaü tuhum, luhahu muhu, nikkāraņe rovahi kāim tuhum? "o son, show your face, why have you gone? O son, dry your face, why do you weep without cause?" This tendency, which is barely noticeable, does not appear to have been further developed, and formal distinctions between the imperative and the indicative moods seem to have been gradually re-established, at least in the second person, as for instance in Hindi.

The general Apabhramśa conditions survive in modern Hindi, where the pronoun subject, when used with the imperative, tends to stay on the outside of the sentence, generally at the beginning, e.g. tū corī na kar, "thou shalt not steal," tum to Yādavon ko māro, "do you then destroy the Yādavas,"2 in both familiar and polite forms: (tū) jā, "go (thou)," (tum) jāo, "go (you)," and (âp) jâie, "please go."

The pronoun subject of the imperative, which had occupied an unaccented position in the early forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, in conformity with the popular usage of other Indo-European languages, later moved into a more prominent position at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the sentence. In late popular Prakrit and in Apabhramśa the pronoun subject was no longer just added for a little extra emphasis after the beginning of the sentence, but it fulfilled a special function, particularly when there was a need for contrast between persons, and it was also frequently joined with the vocative to bring home to the person addressed that the command was meant for him, and the command was

thereby made much more personal. Any incipient tendency for the use of the pronoun to fulfil a morphological function, and to distinguish between moods, did not develop further in Apabhramsa and in modern Hindi. Apabhramsa resembles Medieval French by the manner in which the pronoun subject of the imperative was used, but in modern French developments have been quite different and the presence or absence of the pronoun subject serves as a means to differentiate between the indicative and the imperative mood. Modern Hindi on the other hand has retained the flexibility of late Middle Indo-Aryan, where the use of the pronoun subject can provide a special nuance of meaning in rendering a command more personal.

Few problems in Middle Indo-Arvan have caused quite as much discussion as the derivation of the second person singular imperative ending -su. According to the first of the two major theories, Prakrit -su and Pali -ssu come from the ātmanepada ending -sva. This theory was originated long ago by Lassen,1 and upheld by Weber2 and Jacobi,3 and more recently and convincingly by Edgerton, 4 who argues that the Prakrit and Pali forms cannot be separated from one another and that the use of an atmanepada ending in the parasmaipada was due to the general decay of the ātmanepada in Middle Indo-Aryan. An opposing theory was held by Pischel, 5 and followed by more recent scholars. 6 Pischel believed that the ending -su was due to analogy, which brought the imperative endings -su, -(t)u exactly in line with the indicative endings -si, -(t)i. A very tempting compromise between these two theories has been suggested by J. Bloch, and it seems highly probable that Pali -ssu and Prakrit -su were derived from the atmanepada ending -sva, and that the final vowel was adapted to that of the third person singular ending -(t)u. The single consonant in the Prakrit ending was the result of further remodelling. In the heat of the discussion over the origins of the ending -su, problems surrounding the other forms taken by the second person singular of the imperative have often been overlooked. The distribution of these forms is of interest, and may help to throw light on the development of the imperative in general.

In the Ardhamagadhi of the Jain canon we find only rare survivals of the Vedic and Sanskrit use of the bare stem for the second person singular imperative in the thematic conjugation. The ending -su is hardly ever used, and then only in metrical portions of the canon: for instance in the Sūyagadanga there is a passage (I.4) which describes the "joys" of married life and contains a long series of commands addressed by the lady to her husband, and yet the termination -su only appears once, in genhasu "take". The use of the second person singular termination -hi on the other hand, which was confined to the athematic conjugation in Sanskrit has been greatly extended in Ardhamāgadhī. It is found in verbs ending in the vowel -o and especially in verbs ending in -e. As is often the case, the analogical extension of the termination seems to have started from a few common verbs: ehi "go", dehi "give", dhehi "place". From there -hi seems to have become associated

¹ The vocative is often to be regarded as the "psychological subject" of the clause. See A. Sechehaye,

Essai sur la structure logique de la phrase (Paris, 1950), pp. 27-28.

2 S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindi Language, 3rd ed. (London, 1938), p. 460; and A. Sharma, A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi (Government of India, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1958). p. 61.

¹ Ch. Lassen, Institutiones Linguae Prakriticae (Bonn, 1837), pp. 179, 338.

² A. Weber, *Uber das Saptasatkam des Hāla* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 61.
³ H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 54.

⁴ F. Edgerton, op. cit., p. 147. ⁵ R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen (Strassburg, 1900), p. 331.

⁶ G. V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa (Poona, 1948), p. 298.

⁷ J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen (Paris, 1934), p. 249.

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with the vowel -e and its use was extended to verbs ending in -e from -aya of the causative. In the Jain canon -hi was furthermore the most common termination of the second person singular imperative of all other verbs, and before it thematic a was lengthened: e.g. khanāhi "dig", payacchāhi "hand over" (Sūyagadanga I.4).

No real reason for the lengthening of the thematic vowel before -hi has as yet been advanced. Final -āhi was etymologically justified only in verbs of the second class ending in long -ā, such as vāhi "blow", pāhi "protect" and the much more usual verb yāhi "go". Just as the ending -ehi was extended from ehi "go" and some similar forms, jāhi "go" may have exerted a parallel influence. This influence spread very early to the ninth conjugational class. The old second person singular imperative ending -ana, taken by some verbs of the ninth class in Vedic and Sanskrit, had no support within the conjugation system and disappeared without a trace. As the third person imperative of a ninth class verb was jānā(t)u "he should know", which resembled jā(t)u, etc., Middle Indo-Aryan speakers began to use a second person singular jānāhi, corresponding to jāhi. From the ninth conjugational class the termination $-\bar{a}hi$ became associated particularly with a preceding n, and the analogy was not always felt in verbs of the ninth class where this n was obscured by phonetic developments; whence genhasu instead of genhāhi "take" in the passage of the $S\bar{u}yagadangasutta$ already quoted. This association with n was very close and was carried to verbs of other conjugational classes in the Sauraseni and Māgadhi of the dramas, where the ending -āhi is otherwise unknown and only -su is used, e.g. sunāhi "listen", bhanāhi "speak" (Mālavikāgnimitra). Despite this extension of -āhi in Śaurasenī, the link with the ninth class is still the strongest: bhanasu may occur occasionally in Saurasenī alongside bhanāhi, but jānasu has not been found despite much searching. In Ardhamāgadhī the use of the long \bar{a} before -hi was so general that it seems likely that yet another influence was at work, quite apart from the influence of jāhi, which affected the ninth class, and hence verbs ending in -n. It is probable that the imperative was linked by the speakers with the optative, with which it was so closely associated in meaning; e.g. in the same passage as the list of imperatives quoted from the Sūyagadangasutta, there occur the optatives carejjāsi, vajjejjā, nilijjejjā, parivvaejjāsi. It is certain that the old subjunctive mood, prior to its disappearance had some influence on the imperative, and this may account for some Aśokan forms: sussusātu (Kalsi), "may he obey," palakkamātu and others quoted by Bloch1 as well as the curious plural sruṇāru (Girnar), "may they hear." But the subjunctive disappeared so early that it seems much more probable that the imperative and the optative, both used side by side in a similar context, were associated by early Ardhamāgadhī speakers.

The fact that the lengthening of the vowel immediately preceding the ending -hi might to some extent have emanated from the optative is confirmed by some unusual forms in Ardhamāgadhī where there is actually a mixture between imperative and optative forms: vandejjāhi, "may you praise," pajjuvāsejjāhi uvanimantejjāhi (Uvāsagadasāo).² A different mixed form is found especially in Māhārāṣṭrī: kuṇijāsu, bhaṇijāsu, sahijjāsu, saṃsarijjāsu (Līlāvaīkahā), kuṇijāsu (Vaijālaggam, where the chāyā has kurvīyāḥ), khamejjāsu (Paümacariya). Lengthening of this kind is quite unusual before the ending -su, it is found only in

J. Bloch, Les Inscriptions d'Asoka (Paris, 1950), p. 77.
 R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 327. Mixed forms in -ijjasu, with a short a are also found in Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Mähārāṣṭrī and Jain Saurasenī, e.g. muṇijjasu (Kattigeyāṇupekkhā, v. 89).

association with the optative. But in the case of the ending -hi in Ardhamāgadhī the further extension of such a long form was facilitated by the existence of the analogical forms based on $j\bar{a}hi$ and on the ninth class as well as the very frequent causative ending -ehi, which brought about a rhythmical association between the ending -hi and a long vowel.

The distribution of the forms of the second person singular of the imperative in other dialects is quite complex. In Jain Sauraseni, as illustrated by the usage of the Bhagavati Ārādhanā, the termination e-hi is found with verbs ending in -e, including the causatives, as in Ardhamāgadhī and Saurasenī, e.g. cintehi "think", nisevehi "attend to"; but forms like cintesu are equally frequent. Apart from this the ending -hi is confined to occasional use with verbs belonging to or modelled on the ninth class: jāṇāhi (Bhag. Ārādh. v. 803), vijanahi (Mūlācāra). Sometimes the vowel is short before this ending as in nijjiṇahi (Bhag. Ārādh. v. 1516). This may have been a feature of popular speech in the west central area of India and foreshadows Apabhraṃśa developments. But the use of -hi is still comparatively rare in Jain Saurasenī and the majority of verbs, including even those based on the ninth class, add the usual second person singular ending -su: sunasu "listen" (very frequent), jiṇasu "overcome". -su is also the normal ending of thematic verbs: labhasu, gacchasu, etc. The use of the bare stem in thematic verbs as in Sanskrit is rare.

Jain Māhārāstrī resembles Jain Śaurasenī as regards the endings of the second person singular of the imperative, except that there are occasional instances of the use of -āhi in verbs where it was justified neither by etymology nor by the analogy of the ninth conjugational class. This was due to the influence of the canonical language. The bare stem is used as an imperative quite frequently in Jain Māhārāstrī prose and verse, of which one might take the Samarāiccakahā as a typical example. The ending -su is also widely used. Usage in popular Māhārāstrī texts is very similar to this, except that forms in -āhi are much rarer where not due to direct causes: e.g. in the Vasudevahindi an extensive search revealed only the one form khamāhi "endure", but frequent instances of sunāhi "listen" (adapted to the ninth class) and even mā bhaāhi "do not fear" (based on the analogy of verbs ending in a long -ā). In an even later and more popular text, the Kuvalavamālā, there has been a further change: there is a huge preponderance of forms in -su, while -āhi does not even occur in the few verbs where it still persisted in the Vasudevahindi, e.g. sunasu "listen", mā bihasu "do not fear". In the causative and other verbs in -e the ending -ehi has become extremely rare in the Kuvalayamālā, although there are some instances of a new reduplicated form de-dehi, alongside desu. There are some isolated examples in other popular Māhārāstrī texts of the Apabhramsa tendency to change final -a to -u when the thematic stem was used as an imperative of the second person; e.g. bhanu "speak" and vasu "stay" occur in the Vajjālaggam. These forms in -u ultimately became quite frequent in Apabhramśa.

It is therefore evident from the texts that the ending -hi had undergone an extension in Ardhamāgadhī that was not shared by any other early Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Jain Śaurasenī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī all agree in using the ending -hi only in certain groups of verbs, while in the popular form of Māhārāṣṭrī it was almost non-existent, its place being taken mainly by -su, and also by the use of the bare thematic

¹ Vajjālaggam, ed. J. Laber (Calcutta, 1944), Fasc. III, p. 11.

stem. This aloofness of Ardhamāgadhī from the other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects is evident from many features of the verbal system, e.g. the infinitives in -ttae.

But Ardhamāgadhī did not stand altogether outside the general stream of linguistic development; it exercised a profound literary influence on the non-canonical writings of the Jains, which accounts for instance for the use of some -āhi forms in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. Ardhamāgadhī was a language of the east central area that had gained early literary eminence. As such it had many points of resemblance with the language which was spoken in the west central area and which was later moulded into the literary language Digambara or Southern Apabhramśa. Some of these points of resemblance extend even further into the western region and into Western Apabhramsa. This applies to the ending -āhi of Ardhamāgadhi, which appears in Apabhramsa as -ahi, the most frequent termination of the second person singular imperative. The analogical extension of the long vowel in Ardhamāgadhī does not appear to have affected the area where Apabhramśa was formed, and -āhi is found only with roots ending in -ā, e.g. jāhi. The use of the short form -ahi had been foreshadowed already by isolated examples in earlier Middle Indo-Aryan, as in nijjinahi (quoted above from the Bhag. Ārādh.). Other Apabhramsa endings of the second person are -u, based on the bare thematic stem, and also -e, -i, borrowed from the optative, as well as -lu, probably from the second person plural. The -su forms have almost completely disappeared in Western Apabhramsa, but they still existed in Southern Apabhramsa.

The Apabhramsa forms are clear antecedents of the modern imperative, where particularly the bare stem is represented (in Hindi, Panjabi, Marathi, Bengali, etc.), as well as the bare stem with a final -u (Sindhi), and there are also remnants of the imperative ending -ahi, particularly in the older forms of the modern languages (e.g. Old Hindi, Old Awadhi). The imperative ending -su has left an interesting survival in Old Awadhi: this is an instance of the resemblance that has been noted between Eastern Hindi and Southern Apabhramsa. Already in the *Uktivvaktiprakarana*, attributed to the twelfth century, there occur future imperatives of the type niwantesu, padhesu, which are still found in 16th-century Awadhi, for instance in the works of Jāyasī and Tulsī Dās (e.g. kahesu "you shall say").2 There is also in Old Awadhi a second person plural of the future imperative in -ehu. Attempts have been made to explain the endings -esu and -ehu by means of the Middle Indo-Aryan causative -e- < -aya-. The meaning of the future imperative is, however, distinctly associated with the future rather than the present tense, and it would therefore seem probable that the Southern Apabhramsa type of future in -esami, -esahi, etc., was responsible for the use of the characteristic vowel e. To this were added the personal endings of the imperative -su (second person singular) and -hu (second person plural) to form a future imperative.

The development of the second person singular endings of the imperative can only give a glimpse of the changing pattern of regional distribution that is so characteristic of the development of the verbal system in Middle Indo-Aryan.

² B. Saksena, The Evolution of Awadhi (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 269-270.

REMARQUES SUR QUELQUES CONJONCTIONS DU MOYEN INDO-ARYEN

PAR

L. A. Schwarzschild

S'il est vrai que le style périodique et l'usage des propositions subordonnées appartiennent surtout aux langues cultivées et raffinées, et que la parataxe est du ressort des langues dites « primitives », on s'attendrait à un essor remarquable de la subordination en sanskrit classique. Mais il n'en est rien. Le sanskrit, si apte à exprimer les pensées les plus complexes et les plus enchevêtrées, se sert surtout de la composition nominale et des constructions absolutives, et néglige les phrases subordonnées. L'usage — toujours assez restreint — qu'on fait de la subordination en sanskrit dépend de l'époque et surtout du genre littéraire ; le style des brāhmana et des bhāsya se signale par les propositions liées sous forme corrélative¹. L. Renou a montré² que les parties descriptives du kāvua évitent tout à fait la subordination, tandis que le style oratoire, qui pourrait bien se rattacher au style *bhāsya*, se sert parfois de phrases relatives, même compliquées. Les textes prakrits qui nous sont parvenus ne sont souvent qu'un reflet du sanskrit, mais dans quelques textes moins stéréotypés on entrevoit une souplesse et une richesse d'expession toutes nouvelles, et ce sont quelques-unes de ces innovations qu'on voudrait examiner ici.

Nombre de textes prakrits, y compris les vers māhārāṣṭrīs du drame, les parties descriptives du canon jaina, aussi bien que les passages descriptifs du $k\bar{a}vya$ apabhraṃśa, se laissent traduire presque mot pour mot en sanskrit. L'influence du style descriptif du sanskrit a prédominé au point que la syntaxe et la tournure des phrases sont restées assez proches du sanskrit, malgré tous les

¹ For examples of this in the development of the future system, see JRAS, 1953, pp. 50-52.

^{1.} A. Minard, «La subordination dans la prose védique ». Étude sur le Satapatha Brāhmana, I) », Annales de l'Universite de Lyon, 3. Paris 1936.

^{2.} L. Renou, «Sur la structure du kāvya», J.A. 1959, fasc. 1, p. 11.

changements de phonétique, de grammaire et de vocabulaire. Mais dans les textes plus populaires qui ont subi l'influence de la langue parlée, dans quelques inscriptions, et surtout dans les œuvres en prose, on peut distinguer deux courants nouveaux : d'une part il y a une tendance à la parataxe, d'autre part on peut constater des

méthodes nouvelles de la subordination. Ce sont toujours les propositions corrélatives qui jouent un rôle important. Dans les inscriptions kharosthies trouvées au Turkestan il y a même des distinctions modales dans les propositions subordonnées. T. Burrow a remarqué¹ que l'optatif y signale une proposition relative à valeur générale : yesa vivada siyadi rayadvarammi visajidavya «ceux qui se disputeraient doivent être envoyés à la cour du roi ». Le futur sert à exprimer quelque chose de plus défini et de plus réel : yo mamnuśa... abomata karisyati... se iśa visajidavo «l'homme qui sera désobéissant, on doit l'envoyer ici ». Le moyen indo-aryen se rattache ainsi à l'usage de la prose védique où l'optatif confère la nuance indéfinie. Dans les phrases conditionnelles la langue des inscriptions de Niya se sert ou de l'optatif ou du futur, selon que la condition est plus ou moins probable. On ne se sert jamais de l'indicatif du présent dans la phrase conditionnelle. Après jena < yena le futur et l'optatif expriment un sens final. Cet usage aussi se rattache au védique. Mais ce sont là des développements exceptionnels de la langue des inscriptions de Niya. En moyen indo-aryen en général, l'usage des modes dans les phrases subordonnées, loin d'être plus nuancé, est beaucoup plus vague qu'en sanskrit : l'emploi de l'indicatif ou de l'optatif dans les phrases relatives n'y semble rien changer au sens. Ainsi dans la Bhagavatī Ārādhanā² — texte jaina śaurasenī assez populaire malgré sa forme versifiée — on se sert de l'indicatif ou de l'optatif e.g. havejja jo suditho (p. 181), mais c'est l'indicatif qui prédomine. Dans les phrases conditionnelles, l'optatif retient sa valeur primitive dans la langue du canon jaina, et sert à indiquer une proposition irréelle, mais dans les textes plus tardifs et plus populaires cette distinction a disparu. Dans la Bhagavatī Ārādhanā on trouve sur la même page les expressions jadi na kahei et jadi na kahejja « s'il ne le dit pas ». Mais ce qui est encore plus frappant à la lecture de ce texte, c'est l'usage étendu de la particule subordonnante jam <skt. yad 'que'. jam s'emploie souvent pour lier deux phrases sans

1. T. Burrow, The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Cambridge 1937, p. 64.

se référer à un antécédent précis — usage qu'on trouve aussi en sanskrit bouddhique et dans la langue du canon jaina. Mais jam s'emploie aussi au sens consécutif : vadadi nihīno hu aham jam na samattho aṇasaṇassa « il dit : je suis si faible que je ne saurais pas jeûner » (Bhag. Ār. p. 258).

Dans les textes en prose jaina māhārāstri cet usage est devenu beaucoup plus fréquent, mais seulement dans les textes populaires et tardifs : il n'y en a pas de trace dans la Vasudevahindi. Souvent le sens consécutif est explicite : kim nivveyakāranam, jam puna iva bhaniyam āsi jahā.. « Ouelle est la cause de ton dégoût, pour que tu dises de nouveau que...? » (Samarāïccakahā 53), kāranena hoyavvam jam esa na neddam pavajjae « il doit y avoir une raison pour laquelle elle ne dort pas » (Dharmopadeśamāla, 49, 20). L'optatif dans cette construction est assez rare et ne change rien au sens. Parfois le sens consécutif n'est pas très développé, et jam n'est devenu qu'une conjonction subordonnante « que » : kim mantasatti dhammasatti vā, jam sūla sīhāsanam jāyam «est-ce par le pouvoir d'un charme magique, ou est-ce par le pouvoir de la Loi que le poteau de supplice s'est transformé en trône?» (Kathākosaprakaranam). Parfois, même dans ces textes populaires et tardifs, on pourrait entrevoir une continuation de l'usage sanskrit, où yad peut introduire des propositions complétives : sohanam jam aham pavancio imīe duṭṭhasīlāe « il n'y a pas de doute que cette mauvaise femme m'a trompé » (Jambucariya, p. 106). Mais c'est la nuance explicative et causale qui est beaucoup plus frappante : na lajjasi tumam imānam niyapandarakesānam jam tīe... neuram pariginhasi « tu n'as donc pas honte de tes cheveux blancs, que tu aies pris son ornement de pied ? » (Jambucariya, p. 106). jam peut alors changer de place avec jena 'pour que', et on lit dans le même passage du Jambucariya: na lajjasi tumam... jena evam bhanasi? «tu n'as donc pas honte... que tu parles ainsi?»

L'extension de la conjonction subordonnante jam a enrichi la phrase moyen indo-aryenne d'une souplesse toute nouvelle. Les causes de cette extension sont multiples. La structure corrélative, si importante en sanskrit classique, s'est affaiblie dans la langue populaire, et les liens entre les démonstratifs et le relatif ont été relâchés. L. Renou¹ a relevé dans la prose védique des phrases qui témoignent de la simplification du démonstratif, senti comme élément abstrait, et on trouve donc yathā repris par tāvat, yasmāt repris par tena, etc. En prakrit, même dans les textes anciens, cette tendance a prévalu, et les phrases corrélatives « irrégulières » abondent : jam est souvent suivi de tā, ou de tahā; jatha et tadhima

^{2.} Les textes moyen indo-aryens cités ici sont tirés des éditions critiques bien connues, surtout celles de la Singhī Jain Series, et de la Prakrit Text Society. Le seul texte de la Bhagavatī Ārādhanā qui nous fût accessible est celui de la Srī-Anandakīrii-Jaina-Granthamālā, Bombay 1932.

^{1.} L. Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, Paris 1961, p. 530.

sont associés si souvent dans la Bhagavatī Ārādhaṇā que l'on pourrait considérer cette expression comme caractéristique de la langue de ce texte. Parfois, surtout en jaina māhārāṣṭrī, il est difficile d'être sûr si tā... jam est corrélatif, ou si l'on est en présence d'une particule temporelle tā, suivie de jam, conjonction complétive ou consécutive : tā sukayam kayam jam calio asi « tu as donc bien fait de t'en aller ». C'est ainsi sans doute que jam s'est dégagé de plus en plus de la construction corrélative et est devenu une conjonction subordonnante. Les changements phonétiques et morphologiques ont contribué à l'affaiblissement du corrélatif : etad et yad se ressemblaient bien et s'employaient très souvent dans les phrases corrélatives du sanskrit. Mais en prakrit etad est devenu e(y)am, et ne ressemble plus à yad, devenu jam, et l'on a donc de la peine à reconnaître le schéma corrélatif eam... jam dans une phrase comme kaha sakkā bhaṇium aliam eam jam porānasuīe Bhāraha-Rāmāyane āyam « comment peut-elle qualifier de mensonge ce qui nous a été transmis par les anciens textes sacrés, le Mahābhārata et le Rāmāyaņa? » (Dhūrtākhyāna 3.20). Dans les textes populaires postérieurs à la Vasudevahindi, surtout dans la Kuvalayamālā, l'usage de jam comme conjonction subordonnante s'est donc de plus en plus répandu.

Mais jam n'est pas la seule conjonction subordonnante à sens causal et consécutif: l'ancien instrumental du pronom relatif, jena, s'emploie dans le même sens, comme dans l'exemple du Jambucariya, cité plus haut. L'usage semble varier d'un texte à l'autre; quelques écrivains, comme l'auteur du Kathākosaprakaraņam et l'auteur du Dharmopadesamālāṭīkā préfèrent jam, d'autres comme Šilānka, auteur Caupannamahāpurisacariyam font un usage très étendu de jena. Parfois l'origine corrélative de la conjonction jena est claire, et des expressions comme kahim...jena, et kīsa...jena sont assez communes : aha so una kahim maha sattū, jena se pariyānāmi balavisesam « où est donc mon ennemi, pour que je puisse connaître la nature de ses forces » (Caupannamahāpurisacariyam, p. 224), et kīsa...asabbhāvinī samjāyā, jeņa mamam pi avaharasi vayanam « est-ce que tu es devenue malade, que tu détournes ton visage, même de moi ? » (ibid. p. 239). Mais pour la plupart, jena est une conjonction causale et consécutive, sans antécédent démonstratif : sasallo viva bhagavao taṇū samuvalakkhijjai, jeṇa pecchasu... milānalavannam uvalakkhijjai vayanakamalam « le corps de notre maître est comme percé par une flèche, puis que — vois donc — le lotus de son visage semble flétri » (ibid.). jena peut même remplacer jam dans les propositions complétives : na ya eriso susāhūņa samāyāro jeņa taddivasam bhikkham gaheūņa puņo vi geham āgacchijjaï « ce n'est pas la coutume des religieux de mérite qu'ils reviennent à une maison où ils ont reçu l'aumône ce jour même » (ibid.).

Dans le dialecte jaina māhārāstrī du Caupannamahāpurisacariya l'emploi de jena était donc très en vogue, mais on n'y néglige pas les autres conjonctions subordonnantes, et jahā y joue un rôle important. jahā, comme yathā en sanskrit, y sert à introduire une citation; le tour direct est généralement précédé de jahā et suivi de 'tti < iti en moyen indo-aryen. Mais -tti peut manguer, et dans la prose tardive de la jaina māhārāstrī, jahā peut avoir l'air d'une conjonction subordonnante qui introduit un discours indirect. L'usage ancien est toujours en évidence, e.g., pucchio ya aham tena jahā « kim ettha sampadam citthaï kumāro? » « il m'a demandé : estce que le prince se trouve ici à présent ? » (Caupanna. p. 127). Mais l'emploi presque subordonnant de jahā figure dans le même texte, e.g., tao bhagavayā patthuyā dhammakahā, jahā... jīvā kammasanghāyam hindanti...jahā ca...gacchanti mokkham « alors le saint narra un conte religieux, comment les âmes errent à travers la multitude chaotique des actions, et comment elles atteignent au salut » (Caupanna, p. 73). jahā sert ici à introduire une phrase relative qui décrit ce qui a été dit, et en donne un résumé. Cet usage est frappant surtout dans une œuvre en prose du viiie siècle, la Kuvalayamālā, récemment publiée par A. N. Upadhye, a.g. nāyam rannā jahā ya tīya gabbho jāo jahā vanam pavitthā, etc. «le roi savait qu'elle était devenue enceinte, et il savait comment elle était entrée dans la forêt », etc. Il est évident qu'il ne s'agit plus d'une pensée, d'une citation ou d'un discours direct, introduits pas jahā, mais d'une proposition subordonnée. La personne du pronom ou du verbe peut bien en servir de preuve. Comme la plupart des propositions directes ou indirectes sont à la troisième personne, ces témoignages sont assez rares, mais il v en a dans la Kuvalayamālā: bhanio ya sānuņayam kumāro rāiņā 'putta mā evam cintesu jahā aham tumhāņam sattū... tumam ca mama putto 'tti « le roi dit au prince avec tendresse : fils, ne pense pas que je sois ton ennemi. Je suis ton père... » (Kuv. 11.8). Si jahā servait ici à introduire un discours direct, la phrase aham tumhānam sattū n'aurait pas de sens; on s'attendrait à un pronom de la deuxième ou de la troisième personne, et l'on devrait donc traduire « fils, ne pense pas : il est mon ennemi », ou « fils, ne pense pas : vous êtes mon ennemi ».

Dans quelques textes jaina śaurasenī à influence populaire jahā figure dans les propositions conditionnelles : appāṇaṃ pi cavantaṃ jaha sakkadi rakkhiduṃ surindo vi to kiṃ chaṇḍadi saggaṃ savvutta-ma-bhoya-saṃjuttaṃ? « Si le plus puissant des dieux était en effet capable de s'empêcher de tomber (du ciel), pourquoi quitte-t-il le ciel si plein de jouissances célestes ? » (Kārtikeyānuprekṣā, 29).

Dans ce texte aha...lo (peut-être dérivé de jahā... to) sert souvent à

introduire des propositions conditionnelles.

Il n'y a aucun doute que l'usage des conjonctions subordonnantes s'est étendu dans le dialecte jaina saurasenī, et dans les textes en prose jaina māhārāṣṭrī. Cette souplesse d'expression toute nouvelle ajoute beaucoup de charme aux contes jaina. Mais cette tendance n'a pas duré, et dans la langue parlée la parataxe devait jouer un rôle de plus en plus important. Par conséquent toutes les conjonctions subordonnantes qu'on vient de discuter, jaṃ, jeṇa et jahā ont disparu. Dès le temps de Saraha l'indo-aryen a comblé cette lacune par l'emprunt de la conjonction subordonnante persane ki. Mais le système de subordination syntaxique n'a jamais évolué à un état très compliqué en indo-aryen moderne. L'usage des conjonctions subordonnantes en jaina saurasenī et surtout dans la prose jaina māhārāṣṭrī représente donc un développement intéressant, mais assez éphémère et quelque peu en dehors du grand courant du développement de l'indo-aryen.

Victoria.

Some Interrogative Particles in Präkrit

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

INTERROGATIVE particles, such as words meaning 'why' are not subject to many of the semantic influences that bring about the loss of words, and yet such particles are very liable to change. They are constantly overshadowed by the interrogative pronoun and may often be replaced by more specific and intense expressions such as 'for what reason'. Such expressions are generally emphatic and may even border on slang, as for instance English 'why on earth?' and 'whatever for?' and they are therefore particularly prone to change with linguistic fashions and even with the taste of individual authors. This can be illustrated from Middle Indo-Aryan.

In Sanskrit the sense of 'why?' was conveyed usually by $kasm\bar{a}t$, the ablative singular of the interrogative pronoun; a reason was asked for more specifically by kena $k\bar{a}ranena$ 'for what reason?'. A rather more vague inquiry for a cause could be introduced by the neuter of the interrogative pronoun, kim, which was often strengthened by the addition of the particles u, nu, khalu etc. Of these expressions $kasm\bar{a}t$ has survived occasionally as $kamh\bar{a}$, the ablative singular of the interrogative pronoun in Prākrit, but it was no longer generally used in the sense of 'why?'. In the Svetāmbara Jain canon the other two expressions of Sanskrit, kena $k\bar{a}ranena$ and kim maintain their popularity, but they are often used in fixed locutions peculiar to the

weakened to ji, though in the case of je this change occurred at a somewhat later date and figures mainly in Apabhramśa.⁴ The weak particle si was only rarely associated with interrogative locutions at this stage, e.g. $Lil\bar{a}vaikah\bar{a}$ v. 708: kattha puno tam si disihasi—'where indeed will you be seen again?' Professor A. N. Upadhye in his edition⁵ has naturally recognised si as a particle here, but the unknown Jaina author of the vrtti has failed to do so, and this in itself may be taken as an indication of the rarity of se > si in the later texts. The interrogative introduced by se must therefore be considered as a characteristic of the style of the Syetāmbara Jaina canon.

Another striking feature of interrogation in the Jaina canon. apart from the particle se, is the particle nam which often follows the interrogative pronouns, e. g., se ke nam janai ke puvvim gamanae ke pacchā gamanāe—'who indeed knows who is to go first and last?' (Nāyādhammakahāo I. 1). It is particularly common with kim, and combines with it to form kinnam-'why?', 'how is it that..?', e.g. kinnam tumam na jānasi-' how is it that you do not know?', and kinnam tumam Devānuppiyā ohayamanasamkappe jhiyāyasi—' why, beloved of the gods, do you ponder, your mind and spirit dejected?' (Nāyādhammakahāo I. 16). There seems little doubt about the origin of this locution from $ki\dot{m} + na\dot{m}$, and it has a close parallel in $janna\dot{m} < yad + na\dot{m}$, which is used frequently for instance in the Pannavanāsuttam (11). Sometimes however the final syllable of the particle kinnam has been altered and it appears as kinnā, e.g., kinnā phude (often repeated in Pannavanāsuttam XV. 1), and tume nam imā eyārūvā divvā deviddhī, divve devānubhāve kinnā laddhe—' how is it that this heavenly, divine wealth and these heavenly divine powers have been acquired by you?' (Uvāsagadasāo 167). Both $kinna\dot{m}$ and the alternative form $kinn\bar{a}$ occur occasionally in later Jaina literature and in Māhārāstrī. The form kinnā has often been explained as due to the influence of the instrumental kena.⁶ It is difficult to believe this in view of the frequency of kinnam which is not noticeably different in use and meaning: the instrumental sense is not really more marked in kinnā than it is in kinnam. The change of final $-a\dot{m}$ to $-\bar{a}$ is by no means unusual especially in a particle (e.g., samiya \dot{m} ,

¹ R. Pischel, Grammatik der Präkritsprachen, Strassburg 1900, p. 299.

² M. Mayrhofer, Handbuch des Pāli, Heidelberg 1951, p. 109.

³ L. Alsdorf, 'Contributions to the Study of Aśoka's Inscriptions' Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. 20, 1960, p. 259.

^{4 &#}x27;The Indeclinable je in Middle Indo-Aryan', Bhāratīya Vidyā Vols. XX-XXI, p. 213.

⁵ Līlāvaī of Koūhala, ed. A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series Vol. 31, Bombay 1949, pp. 361-362.

⁶ Pischel, op. cit., p. 304.

samiyā < samyak in Ardhamāgadhī).7 One might be tempted to quote the Niya form kimna-'whoever', 'whatever' in support of the view that kinnā represents kena, but this Niya word may well represent a generalisation of the neuter form rather than a use of the instrumental for the nominative as suggested by Professor Burrow.8 kinnam and kinnā mainly belong to Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārastrī. They are less restricted dialectally in their occurrence than the interrogative se-clauses, and are part of a general tendency to strengthen the particle kim in interrogations. This tendency is continued in the literary Prākrits, and is of course also a feature of Sanskrit. It is noteworthy that in the Prakrit of the dramas the type of strengthening particle used does not vary so much with the dialect of the speaker as with the style of the author: thus kim khu is used by Asvaghosa in the Sārīputraprakarana; kim quite simply or kim nu is preferred in all dialects by Śūdraka in the Mrcchakatika; Bhāsa almost invariably writes kim nu khu; Kālidāsa uses kim (nu) khu regardless of whether it is in the Māgadhī spoken by the policemen in Sakuntalā or whether it in the Saurasenī of the Mālavikāgnimitra, and sometimes he uses kim una < kim punah; Rājaśekhara in the Karpūramañjarī uses only kim una. The list could be continued, and the Prakrit usage of these authors generally reflects the formulae used for interrogation in Sanskrit by these same authors, e.g., kim nu khalu is prevalent in the Sanskrit text of Bhāsa's dramas. The analysis of the interrogative constructions alone would be sufficient proof—if proof were needed—that the literary Prākrits of the drama are highly artificial. The formulae for interrogation in particular reflect fashion and even individual style.

Apart from the three locutions se kena kāraņena, se kim and kinņam which are so characteristic of the Śvetāmbara canon, there is another, rarer method of expressing 'why' in the canonical texts, which is nevertheless of interest. This is the phrase kassa heum 'why', 'because of what?'. In this phrase it is quite clear that heum was used adverbially just as was nāma 'by name' in Sanskrit. Edgerton has shown that hetu could be used adverbially both in Pāli and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, and the Prākrit usage lends support to

this view. Sometimes heum might not appear so readily to be an adverb, as for instance in the phrase kassa nam tam heum 'for what reason is that?' (Sūyagadanga II. 7). An analysis of this phrase shows that tam is the pronoun 'that', and not a pronoun adjective that agrees with heum; the literal translation of the sentence into Sanskrit would be tat kena hetunā. The adverbial use of heum is very clear in the repeated phrases of the Sūyagadanga (II. 1) no pānassa heum dhammain äikheijä, no vatthassa heuin.....no lenassa heuin.....no sayanassa heum 'he should not teach the law for the sake of a livelihood, for the sake of clothes, nor for the sake of a house or a bed...'. Apart from the adverbial use of heum, the phrase kassa heum is interesting in that it almost certainly represents a stage in the development of the usual interrogative kīsa 'why?' in Prākrit, Pāli kissa. The change of kassa to kissa is easily explicable by the influence of kim 'what', 'why'. The way in which this influence made itself felt can be seen from a Pāli Jātaka text¹⁰ where kissa is used as a genitive neuter, as opposed to kassa in the masculine. It is not surprising that kim should influence the neuter forms, and particularly that kim 'why?' should influence kassa heum 'why?' to form kissa (heum). Pāli kissa hetu 'why?'. Examples of this use of kissa are found in the later parts of the Svetāmbara canon, e.g., kissa nam tumam mama puttam egante ukkurudiyāe ujjhāvesi 'why do you cause my son to be abandoned in a deserted place, a place used for refuse?' (Nirayāvaliyāo I). With simplification of the double consonant and compensatory lengthening kissa became kīsa in Prākrit, and figured as a very usual form of interrogation in Jaina Māhārāstrī texts, such as the Vasudevahindi and the Līlāvaīkahā. It was also used in the Māgadhī and Saurasenī of the dramas, but its frequency is very much dependent not on the dialect. but on the individual taste of the author: thus it is absent from Kālidāsa's works6 and rare in the Kuvalayamālā. The form kīsa had to some extent become independent of the interrogative pronoun in Jaina Māhārāstrī, and did not correspond to the normal genitive form, which was kassa in the masculine and neuter, and $k\bar{\imath}se$, $k\bar{\imath}e$ in the feminine. kīsa became rare in Apabhramsa, but it has survived in the Old Gujarati as kisā, kiśā, which, as K. R. Norman has pointed out, can hardly be derived from kīdrśa.11

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⁷ Pischel, op. cit., p. 67.

⁸ T. Burrow, The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents fram Chinese Turkestan, Cambridge 1937, p. 35.

⁹ F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, New Haven 1953, s. v. hetu.

¹⁰ W. Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, Strassburg 1916, 111.

¹¹ K. R. Norman, JRAS 1964, p. 67.

The more popular Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī texts already show signs of new developments; thus kiha 'why' appears in the Vasudevahindi (92.16), kiha $b\bar{\imath}hesi$ 'why are you afraid?'. This word must probably be explained from katham 'how?' influenced by kim. New forms based on the interrogative pronoun, particularly the neuter plural $k\bar{a}im$, become prevalent in Apabhramśa, and a new cycle of fixed locutions begins.



Some 'unusual' sound-changes in Prākrit

The development of Old to Middle Indo-Aryan is characterised mainly by profound changes in phoneme distribution, and especially in the clustering of consonants. There are only comparatively few major phonemic changes and only a slight reduction in the number of phonemes: it is generally true to say that only consonant phonemes of marginal distinctive value have been lost

in the course of the evolution of the Prākrit dialects. In the absence of major phonemic changes in any Prākrit dialects and particularly in the absence of any changes involving whole groups of consonant phonemes (other than the sibilants) one is therefore surprised to read in the great work of R. Pischel²: "Gutturale wechseln dialektisch mit Labialen... An Stelle der Palatalen finden

sich dialektisch Dentale . . . Wie Dentale für Palatale, so sind umgekehrt in einigen Fällen Palatale für Dentale eingetreten." Such an apparent loss of the distinctive value of a whole series of phonemes in any dialect calls for further investigation.

Only a few Middle Indo-Aryan words have been quoted by Pischel as showing changes between palatals and dentals, and those few are mainly derivatives of the desiderative of certain verbs:

c > t	
Sanskrit	AMg
cikits- 'to cure'	teïcchā, tigicchā, vitigiṃchā, etc., 'cure'.
j > d	
Sanskrit	Prākrit
jighats- 'to be hungry'	AMg, JM digimchā etc. 'hunger'
jugups- 'to despise', 'to avoid'	AMg, JM dugumccham, dugamchā, dogamchi, etc. 'disdain', 'avoid- ance'
jyotsnā 'light'	AMg, Ś dosinā etc. 'moonlight'
y > j > d	
yugma 'pair' > jugga, jumma	(Deśīnāmamālā V. 49) dogga 'pair'
t > c	
takṣati 'to chop', 'to shape by cutting' cf. also tvakṣati 'to pare', 'to peel', 'to hew'	Hem. IV 194 cacchai 'to cut'
tişthati 'to stand'	AMg, JM, M, S, Apa citthai 'to stand'
tuccha 'small'	Hem. I 204 cuccha, chuccha
dh > jh	
vidyādhara	Apa vijjajjhara (Vikramorvašī IV.23)

The changes between the dental and the palatal series of consonants in these few examples are due to a variety of causes:

1. CONTAMINATION

dogga 'pair' and dosinā 'moonlight' are not of real phonetic interest; the change from the initial palatal to a dental consonant in these two words is due to contamination.

It has already been suggested by Pischel that the development of yugma > jugga to dogga could have been due to contamination with AMg. JM. duga > dvika 'a

pair'. The history of yugma and its derivatives is complex: in the Jain canon there occurs what is probably an easterly form of the word, jumma; this is used as a mathematical term (e.g., Bhag, 18.4) in connection with arithmetical series containing even numbers.3 jugga 'pair' is attested mainly in the works of the grammarians, e.g. Vararuci III.2., Hemacandra II 62, 78. It is very probable that jugga was then influenced by the semantically very close word do < dvau 'two', as well as by duga < dvika: this would explain the presence of the vowel o in dogga. It seems certain that dogga 'pair' existed in the spoken language and was not a creation of the grammarians: there is evidence from the modern languages to show that the closely cognate word yugala 'pair' was also influenced in some areas by do 'two', duga 'pair'. Hindi has jūlā, jolā 'pair', but Kashmiri has dula 'pair'. The semantic association between yugma, yugala 'pair' and words meaning 'two' is so obvious that there is no need for any further explanation of this contamination.

The derivation of dosinā, dosinā 'moonlight' from jyotsnā is by no means straightforward phonetically and semantically. The specialised meaning 'moonlight' is prevalent in Sanskrit as well as the more general meaning of 'light'. The causes of this specialisation are uncertain but they go back to a very early period, as is shown by the parallel formations Av. raohšna, Lat. luna. In Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan only the specialised meaning 'moonlight' has survived:

Pāli—juṇhā 'moonlight', 'a moonlight night', 'the bright fortnight of the month',

dosinā 'a clear night', moonlight'.

Prākrit-junha, dosinā, etc., 'moonlight'

Hindi—junhāī 'moonlight', Nepali jun 'moon', Shina yun' 'moon'

It is not surprising that jyotsnā and its derivatives became automatically associated with words meaning 'night' and in particular with dosā > dosā 'night'. This association may be implied in the popular etymology given by Buddhaghosas and quoted by the PTS dictionary: dosinā "dosāpagatā" ratti, 'dosinā is a night in which there is no darkness', though here another very plausible explanation of dosāpagata as 'free from stains' (dosapagata) has been suggested. There is no doubt about the association between dosā 'darkness', 'night' and other words referring to the moon: Sanskrit dosākara, Prākrit dosāyara 'moon (i.e., night-maker)'; Sanskrit dosāramana

¹S. M. Katre, Problems of Reconstruction in Indo-Aryan, Simla 1968, p. 7.

² R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, Strassburg 1900, p. 215.

³ W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, Berlin 1935,

⁴ P. Scherer, Gestirn-namen bei den indogermanischen Völkern, Heidelberg 1953, p. 72. Also K. Hoffman, ZDMG 110, 1960, p. 181.

⁵R. L. Turner, Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, Fasc. IV, p. 292, Oxford 1964.

⁶ The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary, London 1921-5, p. 332. See also E. W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo 1946, p. 3.

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'moon (lover of the night)', and also Prākrit dosanijjanta, dosārayana (doṣā-ratna 'night-jewel') 'moon'. It seems therefore quite probable that dosinā 'a clear night, moonlight' represents a contamination between jyotsnā 'moonlight' and dosā 'night', and the presence of the initial d in this word does not represent the result of an ordinary phonetic change.

2. ASSIMILATION

Sometimes hesitation between palatal and dental consonants is due to assimilatory influences: this is certainly the case in vijjajhara, a rare Apabhramśa form for vijjāhara < vidyādhara. The change of t to c, ch in cuccha, chuccha < tuccha 'small' is also due to assimilation: the tendency to retain the assimilated form was assisted by the presence in Prākrit of a number of very similar words meaning 'small' and beginning with c, ch: culla, chulla, chutṭa, chudḍa. The nearly homophonous Prākrit word cumcha 'dried up' (probably not a Deśi word but connected with Sanskrit śuṣka 'dried up') appears to have followed the pattern set by cuccha 'small', hence we find an alternative form tuccha 'dried up' in the Deśināmamalā III.15.

The Sanskrit verb takṣ- (tvakṣ-¹) regularly becomes tacchai 'to cut' in Prākrit and occurs frequently in the Jain canon particularly in the description of various tortures, e.g., Sūyagadanga I.4.1.21: avi teyasābhitāvanāni tacchiya khāra-sincandim ya 'they are roasted alive and acid is poured into their wounds'. The assimilated form cacchai < tacchai is listed by Hemacandra IV 194, and also by Kramadīśvara and Mārkandeya. cacchai, though not found in the texts, must have been current over a wide area, particularly in eastern and central India: a glance at the Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages by R. L. Turner reveals the interesting fact that the distribution of forms with initial c is very similar for both takṣ- and tuccha. The main similarities in distribution are as follows:

	Initial c:	
	takş-	tuccha
Hindi	cāchnā	chūch
Bhojpuri	cāchal	chūch
Bengali	cāchā	chūch
(Oriya)	cāchibā, chāchibā	cuchā
	Initial t:	
Panjabi	tacchnā	tucch
(Oriva)	tāchibā	tuchā

The above list indicates that this very sporadic assimilatory change (of t or c in takş-, tuccha) occurred over a

wide area. The list also gives an interesting illustration of the complexity of the development of the Indo-Aryan languages. The basic scheme of 'Controlled Historical Reconstructions' would never account for a case of this kind where there is correspondence between the otherwise not very closely' related Panjabi and Oriya languages: the network of dialectal relationships in Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan can only be accounted for by 'sets' of intricate interrelations as illustrated in the important article by F. C. Southworth on 'Family-tree Diagrams'.

3. POSSIBLE TENDENCY TOWARDS DISSIMILATION

The remaining examples given by Pischel to show variation between palatal and dental consonants are all, with the exception of tisthati, desiderative verbs. It is highly improbable that a change which is purely phonetic, such as a 'dialectal variation between dentals and palatals' should be almost entirely confined to a small and comparatively rare morphological group such as desiderative verbs. Morphological factors must inevitably have played some part, rather than purely phonetic developments.

As is well known, velar consonants are represented by palatals in the reduplicating syllable in Sanskrit verbs. This pattern was so dominant as to lead to analogical formations, e.g., cit-'to perceive' perfect ciketa, desiderative cikits- (the k in these forms is analogicall'). In Middle Indo-Aryan a few desideratives have survived and they were distinctive enough to remain as a group. It was precisely in this group that the change of j > d, c > t occurred, and this change would appear to be one of dissimilation¹¹: the speakers had the feeling that the first syllable differed from the second syllable and they tended to differentiate the initial consonant even further. Hence

cikits- AMg. tigicchā etc., 'eure', Pāli tikicchati jighats- AMg. digimchā etc., 'hunger'

jugups Pāli digucchā 'avoidance' (AMg. dugumchā probably represents a contamination between a form of this kind and jugumchā). 12

As dissimilation played some part in the development of this group of desideratives, it might appear as if citthai < tisthati were the only clear example of variation between palatal and dental consonants.

4. PHONETIC CHANGES UNDERLYING THE INTERCHANGE BETWEEN PALATALS AND DENTALS

The desideratives listed above are interesting in their distribution. The forms with the initial dissimilatory dental consonant occur only in the eastern dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan (Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī) or in those which underwent certain eastern influences (Jain Māhārāṣṭrī) and to a lesser extent Pāli); they do not occur in Saurasenī and only rarely in Māhārāṣṭrī: these dialects generally have jugucchā 'avoidance', ciicchaa 'healer'. This dialectal limitation makes it probable that the change of palatals to dentals in the desiderative verbs was facilitated over much of northern and eastern India by close phonetic similarity between palatal $+\ i$ on the one hand and dental $+\ i$ on the other.

The problem of the pronunciation of the palatal series of consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan was discussed by Grierson,18 who came to the conclusion that 'in Standard Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit and in Saurasenī... the palatals were probably pronounced as dento-palatals, as in modern Marāthī, but that in Māgadhī they were pronounced clearly as true palatals'. This is based mainly on Markandeya's statement (xii, 21) about Māgadhī; cajayor upari yah syāt, 'y is prefixed to c and j'. Mārkandeya's statement need not be taken literally, but it clearly indicates, as is suggested by Grierson, that the 'palatal' series of consonants had a more distinct palatal quality in the Eastern dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan. There is no proof that they were 'pure palatals' as Grierson suggests. c, ch, j, jh were still palatal plosives at the time of the Prātiśākhya literature. 14 There are indications in Middle Indo-Aryan that at least in the western areas of India these palatal plosives had become affricates and that

c represented [$t_{\varsigma} > t_{\varsigma}$] and j represented [$d_{i} > d_{\varsigma}$]

The assimilatory changes of early Middle Indo-Aryan to some extent confirm the arguments for this pronunciation, particularly the change of -ty- to -cc-, -dy- to -jj-, and -dhy- to -jjh-. It is evident already from the Asokan inscriptions that there was considerable regional variation:

-ty- >-cc- apatya > apacca in the Girnar version of Aśoka's 5th Rock Edict, apaca in the Shahbazgarhi version, but apatiya in the Kalsi and Dhauli inscriptions.

The modern languages are divided mainly between a more easterly alveo-palatal affricate, and a more westerly palato-alveolar and even denti-alveolar affricate pronunciation of c, ch, j, jh. From this and the Asokan evi-

dence it can be deduced with some certainty that the fricative element in the affricate pronunciation of c, ch, j, jh retained its palatal quality for a longer time in the eastern dialects. This is perhaps what is implied in the statement of Vararuci: cavargasya spastatā tathoccāraņah (11.5) 'c, ch, j, jh and n are so pronounced as to be clear'. It is probable that in the east this distinct palatal fricative element was retained even longer before the high front vowel i, and that it remained even when the plosive element of the affricates [tc], [di] became depalatalised. as in [tc], [dj]. There was thus a close similarity between c + i (pronounced [tci]), j + i (pronounced [dji]) on the one hand, and ti, di on the other. This phonetic similarity was accentuated by the fact that the high front vowel i would have the effect of slightly retracting the point of articulation of the preceding dental to at least an alveolar if not a post-alveolar position.

It seems then that at least in the eastern dialects the opposition between the dentals and palatals tended to be neutralised in just one environment, namely before the high front vowel i. This accounts for the prevalence of the desiderative forms with initial dental, discussed above, and it also accounts for the one remaining example cited by Pischel, namely citthai < tisthati 'to stand'. cittha-is attested already in the Asokan inscriptions from the east and in inscriptions which are under strong influence of the eastern dialects: Dhauli, Mansehra, Kalsi citha-, but Girnar tista-, Shahbazgarhi titha-. cittha-, cettha 'to stand' then spread further and is found in all the major Middle Indo-Aryan dialects except Pāli, from the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Jain Canon in the east to the Kharoşthī Dhammapada in the west. Forms with initial t (titha-) are much rarer, they occur for instance in some manuscripts of Jain Saurasenī texts, (e.g., the Pravacanasāra).15 The word cittha- 'to stand' occurs far beyond the area of the tendency towards neutralisation of the contrast between t + i and c + i. The reasons for this wide extension are not clear. Although it is found in all the Prākrit dialects and in Apabhramśa cittha- 'to stand' is not as common as one might expect, it is still the usual word for 'to stand' in most Jain Māhārāstrī texts, but its function is gradually taken over by derivatives of the root-form sthā, JM thāi; these derivatives of sthā- also prevail in the modern Indo-Aryan languages. It would seem that cittha- 'to stand', 'to stay' was probably not clear in many contexts because it was homophonous with cettha-, cittha- < cest- 'to work hard', 'to strive'. The distinction between e and i in closed syllables had become neutralised in Prākrit, and cetthai for citthai 'to stand, to stay' is in fact quite common in Jain Māhārāstrī, e.g. muhuttagam cettaha,16 'stay for a moment'. This

⁷M. Mayrhofer, 'Über Kontaminationen der indoiranischen Sippen von ai. takş-, tvakş-, *tvarś-.' Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne, Wiesbaden 1964.

⁸ D. P. Pattanayak, A Controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi, The Hague, 1966.

⁹ F. C. Southworth, 'Family-tree diagrams', *Language* XL 1964, p. 562.

L. Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite, Paris 1961, p. 52.
 S. Sen, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Poons 1960, p. 54.

¹² H. Lüders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von E. Waldschmidt (Abhandl. d. Deutschen Akademie d. Wissensch. Berlin 1952/10), p. 102.

¹³ G. A. Grierson, 'The Pronunciation of Prakrit Palatals', *JRAS* 1913, pp. 391 ff.

¹⁴ W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, Oxford 1953, p. 52.

¹⁶ Śrī Kundakundācarya's Pravacanasāra, edited by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay 1935, p. CXIII.

¹⁶ H. Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mähäräshţri, Leipzig 1886, p. 59, l. 27.

homophonous clash also accounts for the comparative rarity of cetthai 'to strive' in Middle Indo-Aryan and its scanty survival in the modern languages.

The neutralisation of the opposition between palatal and dental consonants can account for a number of other 'irregular' forms that have come to notice since Pischel's grammar was published. A series of such forms have been quoted by Lüders in his study of eastern linguistic features in Pāli17:

ji > di in Asoka's Rock Edict X at Kalsi palitiditu (Dhauli, Jaugada palitiditu),

the Pāli name of King Prasenajit, Pasenadi.

Pāli vidita < (vijita) 'conquered',

Pāli palissadissati < palissajissati (pari-svaj- 'to embrace').

There is also a possible example from the Deśīnāmamālā:18 mañjīram > mandīram 'chain' (6.116, 6.141).19

in Ser Musdakundaciirva's Propenneden, wifted b

The hypothesis of a limited neutralisation of opposition between dentals and palatals before i in the eastern dialects seems thus confirmed. It was however a strictly limited neutralisation, and all the apparent wider extensions of such a development are due to sporadic changes, contamination, assimilation and dissimilation. Basically, despite certain phonetic differences, the phonemic system of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects appears to have been very stable and remarkably uniform.

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nection involve the supposed change of tv to c, and dv to j (via ty, dy). This has been previously discussed (JAOS 76, 1956, p. 111). The Pāli form daddallati (Lüders, op. cit., p. 100 n.) has not been taken into account in this discussion, nor -ddara < jvara (?) (Gāndhārī Dharmapada). The difficulties connected with these words have been studied by J. Brough, The Gandhari Dharmapada, ¹⁹ Other examples which could be quoted in this con- London 1962, p. 186.

INITIAL RETROFLEX CONSONANTS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

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LINGUISTICS the retroflex consonants attracted at- bly (?), which is found in the Śatapatha-Brāhmatention. Retroflex consonants are absent from the other old Indo-European languages, and very early writers therefore thought of these sounds as typically Indian. Thus F. Bopp, writing in 1868 says: "Diese Buchstaben bezeichnen eine besondere Art von T-Lauten welche dem indischen Organ eigenthümlich ist."1

Discussion has been centered mainly on the problem of the origin of the retroflex consonants: some writers believe that the retroflex consonants are the result of spontaneous phonetic developments,2 while others, particularly in recent years have favoured the theory of Dravidian influence.3 But it is not only the origin of the retroflex phonemes that is of interest, but also their distribution. There are two basic rules delimiting the position of retroflex consonants in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit: retroflex consonants are not usually found:

- 1. in the initial position,
- 2. in the immediate vicinity of a vocalic or consonantal r.4

Initial retroflex n- does not occur in any ordinary Sanskrit word, though there are some artificially coined grammatical technical terms nit and nyul; there is also a rare term na which is found with a vast variety of meanings in lexical works.

RETROFLEX PLOSIVES

Retroflex plosives do not occur initially in Vedic texts. The earliest example is probably

ALREADY IN THE VERY EARLY DAYS OF INDIAN dītara 'following rapidly (?),' 'climbing nimna (IV.5.5.5). A form teka occurs in the Hiranyakeśi Grhua-sūtra (II.7.2.) but the passage is obscure and the meaning remains quite uncertain: moreover in a parallel verse in the Apastamba Mantra-pātha the reading is teka, not teka (II. 16.8). Winternitz⁵ in his edition states 'it may be doubted whether it will ever be possible to restore the text so as to bring out a satisfactory meaning. In fact I do not believe that those who used these charms to cure children's diseases . . . knew the actual meaning of the words which they recited.' There is an equally uncertain word tītra in the Jaimiīya-Upanisad-Brāhmana.

> It is well known that in Sanskrit, apart from a few exceptional cases, retroflex plosives do not occur initially except in a few borrowed words. These words are attested mainly in late texts and particularly in lexicographical works; some have clearly come into Sanskrit via Middle Indo-Arvan. They fall into the usual loan-word categories, a high proportion of them being names of fauna and flora, as has been shown by A. Master.7 Most of these words are patent loans and have other features that are unusual in Sanskrit. quite apart from the retroflex initial: such features include the prevalence of intramorphemic nasalplosive clusters, e.g., -nk-, -nd-, -mb-. One could hardly expect to find any inherited Sanskrit word beginning with a dental consonant that would form minimal pairs contrasting with loan-words like dhenka 'a bird', dundubha 'water-snake,' dimba 'child,' dambara 'a loud noise.' This means that there are only very few and obscure instances of any possibility of contrast between retroflex and dental plosives in the initial position. It

¹⁷ H. Lüders, op. cit., pp. 100 ff.

¹⁸ H. C. Bhayani, Studies in Hemachandra's Deśīnāmamālā, Benares 1966, p. 45.

¹ F. Bopp, Kritische Grammatik der Sanskrita - Sprache in kürzerer Fassung. (Berlin, 1868), p. 19.

² H. W. Bailey, "Arva III," BSOAS 24, p. 480. For earlier opinions see J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I (Göttingen 1896), pp. 164 ff.

³ M. Emeneau, "India as a Linguistic Area," Language 32, (1956).

⁴ F. B. J. Kuiper, "The Genesis of a Linguistic Area," IIJ X (1967), pp. 81-102 and "The Sanskrit Nom. Sing. vit," ibid., pp. 103-125.

⁵ M. Winternitz, The Mantrapatha or the Prayer Book of the Apastambins. (Oxford, 1897), pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁶ These categories are defined in an important article by F. B. J. Kuiper, "Rigvedic Loanwords," Studia Indologica (Festschrift Kirfel), (Bonn, 1955), pp. 137 ff.

⁷ A. Master, "Initial Cerebrals in Indoaryan," P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume, (Poona, 1960), pp. 1-10.

would be feasible to establish some hypothetical minimal pairs: e.g.

 ţālayati
 tālayati

 'he disturbs'
 'he establishes'

 dama
 dama

 'a mixed caste'
 'self-restraint'

but these would not reflect Sanskrit literary usage, still less would they reflect any dialect or stage of the Old Indo-Aryan spoken language. Sanskrit poets who excelled in word-play composed verses in which only certain consonants—and preferably the rarer consonants—are used:

bhūribhir-bhāribhir-bhīrair-bhūbhārair abhireb hire . . . Māgha, Śiśupālavadha XIX v. 66.

Yet even Māgha did not create similar effects with retroflex consonants, since these were not sufficiently well - established in the language. Word-play connected with retroflex initials is found only on a very minor scale, as for instance in the Jānakīharaṇaṃ of Kumāradāsa: śavadiṇdimatām abhivrajaty-abhiṣekotsavadundubhiḥ kṣanāt. (IV.45).

'The large kettle-drum beaten at the coronation ceremony turns suddenly into a funeral drum.'

In this verse there is obviously a contrast between dindimatām 'the condition of being a dindima-drum' and dundubhih 'a large kettle-drum.'

There is some emphasis on the use of initial retroflex consonants in the formation of onomatopoeic words in Sanskrit⁸ and literary effects are sometimes created by the repetition of such words, e.g., the famous line thathamtham thathamtham thathamtham (Mahānātaka III.5), but these can hardly be regarded as part of normal linguistic

There can be little doubt that retroflex initial plosives remained an alien feature in Old Indo-Aryan. There is evidence that the borrowed words with such initials tended to be assimilated to the general phonemic pattern of Old Indo-Aryan, and the initial consonant has sporadically become a dental. Examples are:

fanka - tanka 'chisel'
fițila - tițibha 'a high number'
țik- - tik- 'to go'
țindisa - dindisa 'name of a plant'
toța - dota 'name of a plant'
Thakkana - Thakkana 'name of a person'

dī-	-	dī-	'to fly'
doraka	_	doraka	'a strap,' 'string'
dolā	-	dolā	'swing.'

The changes between dental and retroflex may not always be due to Indo-Aryan. Some of these words may be explicable from hesitations in the languages from which they were borrowed; and they may have been borrowed in situations analogous to what F. B. J. Kuiper calls 'consonant variation in Munda's: Munda languages originally did not have retroflex consonants as separate phonemes. It is noteworthy that in Dravidian initial retroflex consonants are as uncommon as they are in Sanskrit, ¹⁰ and the origin of most of these borrowed words beginning with *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh* remains a mystery.

More importance than ever must therefore be attached to the possibility that there was yet another element involved—an element which was non-Indo-Aryan, non-Dravidian and non-Munda and which contributed towards the main characteristics of India as a linguistic area.¹¹

The absence of initial retroflex consonants from the older forms of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian has many parallels, notably in Australian Aboriginal languages. The reasons for this situation are varied: it has been argued that retroflex consonants are often of a secondary nature?—and this may well be the case in Australia¹²—they may be brought about by assimilation to preceding r-sounds. But the absence of initial apico-alveolars as well as apico-domal (retroflex) consonants in many languages might indicate that this is a more general matter of both articulation and perception: some of the most characteristic

10 E. J. A. Henderson, "The topography of certain phonetic and morphological characteristics of South East Asian Languages," *Lingua* 15 (1965), pp. 420-422. For a contrary opinion see A. Master, op. cit., p. 3.

11 For a discussion of this problem see T. Burrow, "Sanskrit and Pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages," The Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission, Institute of Culture, 1958, and Indo-Asian Culture, Vol. VII, 1960.

12 W. Oates, "Syllable Patterning and Phonetically complex Consonants in some Australian Languages," Pacific Linguistics, Series A. No. 10. (Papers in Australian Linguistics no. 1).

features of retroflex articulation are connected with the effect on the preceding vowel and further acoustic investigation of this is needed.

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In Middle Indo-Arvan the status of retroflex initial plosive consonants changed only very slowly. Already in Pāli and in the earliest Ardha-Māgadhī texts there occur a few inherited words in which initial d- and th- have been replaced by d-, th-. This may be due to assimilation as in the case of das- 'to bite' (p.p.p. dattha < dasta) and dah- 'to burn' (p.p.p. daddha in Māhārāstrī), 13 but the causes are often not clear as in the large-scale change that affected the derivatives of sthā- 'to stand.' In the later Apabhramśa texts there are further instances of such changes: danda 'stick' > danda; darbha 'bunch of grass' > dabbha; dhvānksa 'crow' > dhamka. At the same time in Apabhramśa there was also an increasing influx of further deśī words beginning with retroflex plosives. Perhaps the most telling indication of the growing acceptance of initial retroflex plosives is the use made of them in Apabhramśa literary works where they occur in rhymes, as in the Nāyakumāracariu; ghanta-tamkārem ali-jhamkārem (VII.1.8) or in the Harivamśapurāna: ghuliyaī dhuliyaī (88.7.9.), dhamkeppinu laeppinu (85.22.3), and particularly in the Prākrtapaingala, where the examples are sometimes dramatic:

kaā ţuṭṭa phuṭṭei manthā . . . 'the body is torn apart and the brain is splattered . . .' (II.183), or sometimes they occur quite normally in alliteration: ambara ḍambara dīsae 'a display is seen in the sky' (I.188) and in I.191-2 where there is a play on initial th-.

In Middle Indo-Aryan there are still only few instances of meaningful oppositions between initial dentals and retroflex consonants, such as *fola* 'an insect,' *tola*- to weigh.' One example has already been noted by Pischell¹⁴ "dara becomes dara in the meaning 'fear'... and on the other hand the dental remains in the meaning 'something,' 'a little,' half'.'

There was thus a very gradual change in Middle Indo-Aryan and particularly in Apabhramśa to-

wards the modern Indo-Aryan acceptance of initial retroflex plosives.

The situation with regard to the nasal consonants was not parallel to the history of the plosives; it was much more complicated.

THE RETROFLEX NASAL n

Vedic and Classical Sanskrit had only three nasal phonemes m, n and n: but n did not occur initially and was conditioned in the majority of its occurrences as any student of internal sandhi knows. \tilde{n} was entirely conditioned by the proximity of palatal consonants, while the velar nasal \tilde{n} was significant only in certain rare instances in juncture (e.g., $pr\tilde{a}\tilde{n}$ -mukha 'facing east').

In Pāli, far from there being a reduction in the number of nasal phonemes there has been a slight increase in that \tilde{n} , from being an allophone has achieved phonemic status¹⁵ and quite clearly differentiates between words. There are thus four nasal phonemes in Pāli: \tilde{n} , n, n and m:

kañña	'girl'	Sk. kanyā
kanna	'ear'	Sk. karna
kanna	'trickling down'	Sk. skanna
kamma	'action'	Sk. karma
and		
pañña	'endowed with knowledge'	Sk. prajña
panna	'leaf'	Sk. parna
panna	'fallen'	probably the past passive participle of pajjati.

There are a few rare instances where nn occurs instead of $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ (Sk. ny) and vice versa in Pāli (e.g., sammannati < Sk. sammanyate 'to agree on a decision,' vadannu Sk. vadanya 'munificent'). These words have been listed by Lüders¹6 and have been shown to be among the many instances of the surviving influence of the Eastern dialects in the Pāli canon. But these forms are exceptional and on the whole the distinction between the four nasal consonants is clearly maintained in Pāli. It is difficult to assess to what extent this represents the phonemic conditions of the spoken dialects.

⁸ K. Hoffmann, Indogermanische Forschungen Vol. 60, pp. 256 ff.

⁹ F. B. J. Kuiper, "Consonant Variation in Munda," Lingua 14 (1965), pp. 54 ff. For retroflex consonants in Munda see also H. J. Pinnow, Versuch einer historischen Laullehre der Kharia-sprache. (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 320.

¹³ It was implied by Helmer Smith that this change could be due to assimilation: Saddaniti V. (Lund, 1954), p. 1405.

¹⁴ R. Pischel, Comparative Grammar of the Prākrit Languages. Translated by Subhadra Jha. 2nd ed. (Benares, 1965), p. 164.

¹⁵ T. Ja. Elizarenkova and V.N. Toporov, Yazyk Pāli, (Moscow, 1965), pp. 218-219.

¹⁶ H. Lüders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons; aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Ernst Waldschmidt, ADAW (Berlin, 1954), pp. 127 ff.

the complexity of the situation. In the eastern end central Asokan inscriptions the palatal nasal \tilde{n} does not occur, the dental n is used in all cases where \tilde{n} might be expected, i.e., when the corresponding Sanskrit words contain jñ, ny and ny, as for instance in

nāti- (in the 6th Pillar Edict from Lauriya Nandangarh and Lauriya Araraj) < Sk. jñāti, cf. Pāli ñāti 'relative.'

anata (Dhauli X) Sk. anyatra, cf. Pāli aññatra 'otherwise, elsewhere.'

On the other hand the distinction between the palatal and the dental nasal is maintained in the western Asokan inscriptions and in the Niya dialect, and the two consonants occur in contrast, e.g., Girnar R. E. V ñātikā 'relations'; Girnar R. E. II nāsti 'is not'.

In the case of the retroflex—dental distinction the position is reversed, and as set out by M. A. Mehendale¹⁷ the eastern Asokan inscriptions maintain a distinction that is lost in the northwest, where intervocalic dental nasals are generally replaced by -n-. Pāli with its four-fold nasal contrast $m \mid n \mid n \mid \tilde{n}$ thus represents a more complex and probably a more archaising system of nasal consonants than any of the Asokan dialects.

The phonemic value of n appears to have been precarious even in Old Indo-Aryan and there was a tendency for n to occur in complementary distribution with n. So while n (never n) was used initially, there are already in Vedic examples of

medial n > n

which can only be accounted for by such a 'prākritic' development. These are: mani 'jewel', sthūna 'pillar', paņi 'hand' in the Rigveda, and śana 'hemp' in the Atharva-Veda.4

As pointed out in an important article by M. Mayrhofer18 there are a number of further well-

17 M. A. Mehendale, Asokan Inscriptions in India, (Bombay, 1948), pp. 19-21, and L. Alsdorf, "Contributions to the Study of Asoka's Inscriptions," Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, vol. 20 (Sushil Kumar De Felicitation Volume), Poona, 1960, p. 250 and p. 274.

18 M. Mayrhofer, "Über spontanen Zerebralnasal im frühen Indoarischen," Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou (Paris, 1968), pp. 509-517.

See also J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I. (Göttingen, 1896) p. 194.

The evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions shows known instances of the change intervocalic -n-> -n- in the Brāhmaṇas and in Classical Sanskrit, but the etymologies of some of these may still be questioned (e.g., guna, bhan-, kalyāna). Even if not all the individual examples are equally convincing there can be no doubt about the existence of a general 'prākritic' change of intervocalic -n- to -m-. The Asokan inscriptions show that loss of the distinctive value of n/n is a northwestern dialectal rather than an eastern feature. This is in agreement with the way in which the change of intervocalic -n- to -n- gradually expanded in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit: developments that are eastern in origin such as r > l are prominent in their rapid increase in late Vedic times with the eastward expansion of Indo-Aryan, while developments that are north-western dialectal in origin, such as -n- -n- exercise a slow and persistent influence on Vedic and Classical Sans-

In Prākrit texts the status of n and n has been rendered complex by the important rôle of manuscript traditions and by the emendations on behalf of modern editors. In intervocalic position -n- was the rule everywhere, but the majority of the Jain paper manuscripts19 at least preserve initial n- and geminated medial -nn-. The following questions therefore arise:

1. Was there any phonemic distinction between

2. Was initial [n-] a genuine allophonic variant of -n-? Did it really reflect a dental rather than a retroflex articulation?

3. or was it merely a scribal tradition in some Jain manuscripts to write initial n- for n-?

There can be little doubt that at the time of the earliest texts in Ardhamagadhi there was barely a marginal phonemic distinction between n and n, and this applied only to the one environment, the medial geminated consonant. Even there many hesitations can be noted. One of the oldest sections of the Sūyagadanga is the Itthiparinnā, the Discourse on Women. The age of this text has been proved by Alsdorf²⁰ by metrical as well as other considerations. But even for this text it is impossible to say that -nn- (-rn-) and -nn- (-nn-, ny-, -jñ-) are kept absolutely apart by the manuscripts, though one finds on the whole an etymologically correct distribution of -nn- and in this text -na is enclitic to the first word in a important edition of this text:

āvannam (<āpannam) II.2 annam (< anuam) 1.24 bhinna (<bhinna) I.7) kheyannä (<khedajñāh) I.9 cunna (<cūrna) II.9. kanna (<karna) I.21,

but there is also some evidence of hesitation, hence

pannā (prajñā) I.20.

The same situation is found in other very old parts of the canon as for instance the Uttaradhyayanasūtra²¹;

(<yajñam) 25.4 iannam chinne (<chinnah) 25.36 āinne $(\langle \bar{a}k\bar{i}rna)$ 27.1

but

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āinna (Āyāraṅga).

It seems therefore that to all practical purposes the distinction between n and n cannot be considered to be phonemic in Ardhamāgadhī as known from the paper manuscripts, still less as known from the palm-leaf manuscripts. The situation generally reflected in the Jain canon is that of the Western Asokan inscriptions: n is the initial position allophone of medial -n-.

There is evidence that at least for some time this did represent a genuine allophonic distinction and not simply a whim of the scribal tradition. This evidence stems not only from the agreement with the north-western Asokan inscriptions, but also from independent texts, in particular the Gandhari Dharmapada.22 where exactly the same distinction is maintained. It is further shown to be more than a scribal matter by the fact that at the beginning of enclitic particles and pronouns n-, not n- is written even in the texts which preserve the initial dental. This can be seen from the particle -na 'indeed': as has been pointed out by J. Brough in his edition of the Gandhari Dharmapada, an enclitic particle 'forms with the preceding word a single unit which, phonologically, is in effect a compound'. In all its occurrences

-nn-. The following may be noted from Alsdorf's clause. The only exception is deva mi na prasajadi (242) but there na follows another enclitic particle -mi<api, and the whole noun-phrase deva mi na is in fact phonologically a compound. -na thus occurs in a different environment from na 'not' where the n is initial and therefore dental. It would be difficult to imagine that this does not reflect a feature of actual pronunciation.

The evidence of the Prākrit grammarians supports that of the Dharmapada. Hemacandra writes: no nah I. 228, svarāt parasyāsamyuktasyānāder nasya no bhavati.

'n is replaced by n after a vowel when it is not geminated'. This obviously excludes initial n for which a separate rule follows: vādau 'optionally in the initial position.'

L. Nitti-Dolci²³ has made a critical study of the statement of the oldest grammarian, Vararuci: no nah sarvatra (I. 42) 'n is substituted for n everywhere.' This study shows that the word sarvatra was probably a later addition. The option vādau 'optionally in the initial position' almost certainly stands for an original nadau 'not in initial position.' The optional initial n is given by the other grammarians, whether of the 'Eastern' or 'Southern' school. The only exceptions are Canda who omits rules about n > n and and Bharata, who makes a general reference to 'languages where the sound -n- is common, spoken between the Vindhyas and the sea.' The fact that the grammarians on the whole make special mention of initial n- (verses -n- intervocalic), gives support to the view that there had been an earlier allophonic distinction; initial $n \mid \text{medial } n$.

The post-Asokan Prakrit inscriptions also confirm the evidence of the grammarians, but they show gradually more and more examples of the use of the graphy n for the initial nasal.²⁴ By the fourth century A.D. n is used invariably in all positions. The same situation is found in the Śvetāmbara Jain palm-leaf manuscripts, in the Jain Sauraseni texts and in Apabhramsa. It was already stated by Master7 that 'the nasal n was in standard Middle Indo-Aryan used as an initial, but graphically rather than phonetically and the tradition was not continued.' Nevertheless this tradition of spelling has some relevance to pro-

¹⁹ E. Leumann, Die Ävaśyaka - Erzählungen, (Leipzig

²⁰ L. Alsdorf, "Itthiparinna," Indo Iranian Journal, Vol. II (1958) pp. 249-270.

²¹ The Uttaradhyayanasūtra edited by J. Charpentier, (Uppsala, 1922).

²² J. Brough, The Gandhari Dharmapada, (London Oriental Series, vol. 7), 1962.

²³ L. Nitti-Dolci, Les Grammairiens Prakrits, (Paris, 1938), p. 27.

²⁴ M. A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, (Poona, 1948), p. 223.

nunciation: the use of the graphy n does not indicate initial retroflexion, but it does reflect the loss of the allophonic distinction between n and n. It is highly probable that this loss of distinction was linked with an alveolar articulation of n as found in most modern Hindi dialects. The tradition of writing n for this alveolar sound remained linked with Apabhramśa and is found even in very late texts such as the $Pr\bar{a}krta$ -

paingalam while the modern languages write n.

The following stages in the development of n may thus be recognized in Indo-Aryan:

1. n and n are separate phonemes, but only n occurs initially, (Vedic and Sanskrit).

25 V. B. Arun, Comparative Phonology of Hindi and Panjabi, (Ludhiana, 1961) pp. 79-80. For a more detailed discussion see M. P. Jaiswal, A Linguistic Study of Bundeli. (Leiden, 1962). For comments on the relevant distinctive features see A. N. Ramanujan and Colin Masica, "Toward a Phonological Typology of the Indian Linguistic Area" in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 5. Linguistics in South Asia. (The Hague, 1969) pp. 562.

Additional Note: The present paper was completed shortly before the appearance of T. Burnow's article "Spontaneous Cerebrals in Sanskrit," BSOAS 1971 pp. 538-559. His important study gives further and previously unrecognised examples of the change of medial -n- to -n- in Sanskrit.

nunciation: the use of the graphy n does not indicate initial retroflexion, but it does reflect the loss of the allophonic distinction between n to shighly probable that this loss of the allophonic variant in initial position, (northwestern dialectal feature gradually influencing Vedic and Sanskrit).

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- 3. The allophonic distinction n initial | n medial is established, (northwestern Aśokan inscriptions, Ardhamāgadhī and early Jain Māhārāṣtrī texts according to paper manuscripts, and the Gāndhārī Dharmapada).
- 4. The allophonic distinction is lost throughout the central area and the east except for Oriya and parts of Bihar (note the retention of n in the Old Kosali of the Uktivyaktiprakarana).
- Only one (generally alveolar) n remains, and is written as n in all positions (Jain texts written on palm-leaf, Jain Sauranseni and Apabhramsa).
- 6. This n, generally alveolar, is written as n.
 The retroflex nasal is absent except in borrowed words, (modern Hindi dialects).
- A phonemic distinction between n and n remains in Old Kosali, in Oriya, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Rajasthani and Marathi.

It is evident from this table that the pronunciation [n] never occurs initially at any stage. The nasals thus illustrate even more clearly than the plosives that Indo-Aryan was generally reluctant to accept initial retroflex consonants.

VARIANT FORMS OF THE LOCATIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

L. A. Schwarzschild

A. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'free variation' in linguistics (e.g. Lyons 1969: 72) is very old. The Sanskrit grammarians were fully aware of optional rules called $vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ (Pāṇini) and vikalpa, quite apart from the much-discussed free word-order of Sanskrit (Staal 1967). The term $vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ is used 112 times by Pāṇini, which is surprising in view of the well-known economy of wording, and this shows clearly the importance attached to this concept in Sanskrit grammar. But these optional rules only refer to very minor points: the majority are rules of limited application referring to certain compounds. A typical example of this restricted application is furnished by the very first rule involving $vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ in Pāṇini (I.1.28):

Vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau

'Pronominal adjectives of the type sarva may optionally follow the pronominal declension if they occur in a bahuvrīhi compound designating a region'.

Optional rules of this kind are frequent, but there is little free variation over the major features of Sanskrit phonology and morphology; among the most prominent examples one could quote are the oblique endings of the neuter of adjectives in -i, -u, both in the singular and the dual. In Middle Indo-Aryan the position seems to be totally reversed, and there appear to be numerous free variants, particularly in morphology. Some of these forms are not really in free variation with one another, they might at least originally have been regionally and chronologically separate. But often, even within one single text there seem to be

a number of variant morphs. Scribal and metrical features may be involved, but these do not account for all cases. It is possible that such forms were not in completely free variation with one another, but were syntactically and semantically conditioned, however subtly, An attempt is made here to illustrate this from the evidence of the locative singular masculine-neuter endings of nouns and adjectives in -a in Jaina Prākrit.

Two main types of endings are involved:

- i. -e corresponding to the Sanskrit -e.
- ii. -mṣi, -mhi. -mmi and -mmī derived from the Sanskrit pronominal ending -smin.

B. REGIONAL VARIATION OF THE ENDING -smin

The different forms derived from -smin are without doubt dialectally conditioned. The clusters sibilant + nasal, as in -smin, have undergone changes in Middle Indo-Aryan, but owing to the intricate pattern of dialectal diffusion it is difficult to assess the exact regional distribution of the various developments. That such widely different forms cannot belong to one and the same dialect has already been stressed in the case of -sn- by Lüders (1952: 130):

'Ich halte es für ausgeschlossen, dass die Verbindung des Zischlautes und n in demselben Dialekte und noch dazu in demselben Worte bald zu -sin- bald zu -nh- entwickelt haben sollte.'

Lüders comes to the conclusion that the forms retaining the sibilant are eastern in origin, and those showing the change -sn->-nh- are western.

The situation with regard to -sm is basically similar: the change of s to h in a sibilant + nasal cluster is characteristically western in origin. This is shown by the Asokan inscriptions (Mehendale 1948: 26):

	-smi	northwestern
-smin	-mhi	western
	-si	elsewhere

But in the literary Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the situation was more complex, and there was even some differentiation in the development of *-smin* according to whether it occurred in the nominal declension system on the one hand, or in combination with monosyllabic pronominal stems on the other. The situation can be summarised as follows:

	Nominal D	eclension	Pronouns ja-, ta-, ka-
Māgadhī	$-\overline{a}him$		-s's'im
Śaurasenī	(-e)		-ssim
Jain Śaurasenī	-mmi, -mhi	(rare)	-mmi, -mhi
Pāli	a usanidā).	-mhi, -smim	(Sanskrit borrowing)
Ardha-Māgadhī		-msi, -mmi,	-mmi
Māhārāṣṭrī; Jain Māhārāṣṭr		-mmi, - ṃ m	but note the pronoun assim
Apabhraṃśa		-him, (-em	murch reven ai 'aide ni'

C. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENDING -smin

1. The Saurasenī and Māgadhi locatives of the type tassim, tassim, like the Asokan -si reflect 'regular' phonetic changes with the assimilations of -m- to the preceding sibilant (Pischel: § 65, Sen: 69). The corresponding Māgadhī nominal ending—āhim shows the further development of -sm- to -ss->-s->-h-. This has been explained by 'the phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan' (Turner 1927: 230). But the status of terminational element is not in itself connected with phonetic weakness: after all -smin is a terminational element in the locative pronominal form ta-smin. It is mainly a matter of accentuation. In tasmin the consonant cluster -sm-occurred at the beginning of the second syllable where it was in the immediate vicinity of the stress accent (Pischel 46), hence the

'regular' phonetic change to -ss-, -s's'- in Saurasenī and Māgadhī; but in a word like *gharasmin' in a house' the same consonantal group -sm- occurred in a less accented environment, hence *gharasmin > gharāhim in Māgadhī.

Lack of accentuation also accounts for the loss of the sibilant in the most common forms of the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan: -mmi and mmi. In Māhārāstrī and Jain Māhārāstrī the more accented Sanskrit pronominal forms of the type tasmin show exactly the same development as is found in -smin after nouns, hence tammi, jammi, kammi. This may be accounted for by analogical extension. The locative singular tassim is found only very rarely in Māhārāstrī (e.g. Līlāvaīkahā 244, 281) alongside the more common tammi. There remains only one general exception and that is asmin > assim, the locative singular of the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, e.g. in Jain Maharastri: assim ceva desakale 'at this place and time' (Ausgewählte Erzählungen 67.8). This form assim thus contrasts with the entire declension system of the central dialects which is characterised by the locative singular masculine-neuter endings -mmi, -mmi. A form *ammi, *ammi 'in this' is never found, there are however two new forms of equivalent meaning, aammi and iammi (Pischel 429). A locative singular demonstrative pronoun *ammi would have been ambiguous and mistaken as an ending in many contexts, and this probably accounts for the exceptional retention of assim as the one phonetically 'regular' form.

Owing to the analogical extension of -mmi there is therefore uniformity in the locative endings derived from -smin in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī with only the very minor hesitation between -mmi and -mmi. Another very minor variant is $-mm\bar{\imath}$ (with compensatory lengthening of i associated with the loss of final -n). This occurred in the Māhārāṣṭrī of the Paumacariya of Vimalaṣūri, the $Dh\bar{\imath}$ rtākhyāna and the Nāṇapañcamīkahā. There is thus little free option with regard to this particular ending in the most important literary Prākrits belonging to the Central region.

- 2. In the Jain Śaurasenī dialect of the Digambara texts locative singular forms in -mhi are not uncommon, they occur particularly in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā and in the Kattigeyāmupekkhā their occurrence is now so well attested that they can no longer be dismissed as a mistake, as was done by Pischel (§ 366). They show a survival of the western traditions of the Girnar inscriptions and of Pāli, and they continued to exist alongside the forms in -mmi which had spread from the central dialects. The Jain Śaurasenī texts thus show optional variants in the locative forms due to regional literary influences.
- 3. The regional variants of the locative singular ending as listed above fall into two main groups:
 - a. Those forms of the old ending -smin in which the sibilant (or -h-) has remained the dominant initial member of the consonant cluster -sm-, namely, -ssim, -ssim, Pāli-smim, Māgadhī -āhim, Apabhramsa -him.
 - b. those forms of the old ending -smin in which the nasal consonant has become the initial and dominant member:
 -msi, -mmi, -mmi, -mmi. -mhi.

It can be seen clearly that the final nasal has invariably disappeared by dissimilation in this second group of endings which all begin with a nasal. This evidence is confirmed by Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit where we find the same two groups of endings:

a. -asmin, -asmin and probably -esmin.

Arguments in favour of the existence of -esmin have been put forward by Roth (1966:44) and there is also a probable occurrence of a similar ending in Māhārāṣṭrī: eesim ceya ciyānalammi 'in this fire which had been heaped up' (Kuvalayamālā 48.3: an interpretation of eesim as eteṣām is however just possilbe here).

b. -amse, -amhi M.M.-11 These Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit endings confirm the following general rule for Middle Indo-Aryan:

In locative singular endings beginning with a nasal consonant the final nasal consonant is lost by dissimilation.

4. The Apabhramsa ending -ahim is of interest in that it clearly belongs to group a) and has retained the final nasal. It must be derived from -asmin by means of a development through $-assim > *\bar{a}sim \bar{a}him > ahim$. This is already foreshadowed by the pronominal forms of the type tassim, the adverbially used and relatively unaccented Māhārāṣṭrī tahim < tasmin 'there', and by the Māgadhī ending $-\bar{a}him$. There can be no doubt that in this respect, as in other features of morphology, Apabhramsa differed totally from the literary traditions of the central dialects, where endings of group b), notably -mmi, were prevalent.

It seems therefore that the list of locative singular endings derived from -smin is only apparently diverse and complex, there is in fact great uniformity in the central dialects. The peripheral dialects show diversity only as a result of the influence of the important literary traditions of the central dialects.

D. THE LOCATIVE ENDING -e

The main problem of optional usage in the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan arises from the survival of the Sanskrit nominal locative ending -e alongside the derivatives of the original pronominal ending -smin. It has sometimes been stated (Pischel 366a) that there is complete liberty in Māhārāṣṭri, Jain Māhārāṣṭri and Jain Saurasenī with regard to the locative singular ending, nouns and adjectives in any position in a phrase or sentence can be used with either -mmi or -e, and evidence can be quoted to prove this fact. But this does not take into account the relative chronology of the texts and the stylistic aspects of Prākrit usage.

1. THE USAGE OF THE EASTERN DIALECTS

Throughout the literary Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the derivatives of the old pronominal ending -smin were well

established in the locative case of nouns of the -i and -u declension (aggimmi, bahummi). They gradually spread to nouns of the -a declension at the expense of the original -e ending, particularly in the east, as is evident from the Asokan inscriptions (Bloch 1950: 19). In verse, owing to the contingencies of metre, usage seems to be very free; -smin and -e can occur in Pāli verse, and they occur quite indiscriminately even in the most archaic Jain verses:

Āyāramga-sutta 9.1.1.

sisiramsi addha-padivanne tam vosajja vattham

'when the cold season has half begun he should abandon his outer garment'

here -msi and -e are used side by side.

Although the use of the derivatives of -smin is slightly more limited in Ardhamāgadhī prose.; it is nevertheless comparatively wide-spread, e.g. logamsi occurs more frequently than loe in the meaning 'in this world': -e remains mainly in fixed formulae such as antie 'in the vicinity of' (I.1.8.) and in place-names. This is characteristic of the eastern dialects: the other extreme is represented by Śaurasenī where only -e occurs.

2. The Usage of Māhārāṣṭrī

It is in the central and western dialects that the subtle distinctions between the two types of locative ending are most noticeable. In the early Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the Vasudevahinḍi the distribution of -e and -smin is practically the same as in Sanskrit, with -smin confined to pronominal adjectives and pronouns, e.g. p. 80.17 eyammi ya desayāle 'and at that time and place', 178.17 tammi ya vaṃse 'and in this family'. The locative of a noun like majjha 'middle' is invariably majjhe. -mmi is extremely rare in both nouns and adjectives and seems to convey a certain emphasis on the location when it does occur: sīmantammi saṃthio sattho 'the caravan was stopped right at the edge'

(148.26). In the few verse sections of this text locatives in -mmi are found without any special emphasis: bhavanasamuddamajjhammi 'in the middle of this ocean of existence' (322.26). The same situation prevails in the Māhārāṣṭrī texts edited by Jacobi (1886). The distribution of locative endings in the Vasudevahindi is thus not a random one, the use of -e as opposed to -mmi shows the difference between early Māhārāstri prose and verse style.

In later narrative texts -mmi is more prevalent but the usage is still not indiscriminate. The locative in -e prevails in the following conditions:

- (a) in nouns rather than in adjectives
- (b) in formulaic expressions and fixed locutions
- (c) in the immediate environment of the verb.

This is evident as a general tendency, though not as an absolute rule in Māhārāstrī, Jain Māhārāstrī and Jain Saurasenī, though there are numerous stylistic differences between the various texts. There is evidence of this tendency sometimes even in verse, e.g. in the Dharmopadesamala-vivarana where the distinction in the locative ending may serve as a means of differentiating a noun from an adjective: patte pattammi (p. 2, v. 3) which is rendered in the commentary by patre (noun, locative), prapte (adjective, locative). This distinction is most noticeable in the prose of the Kuvalayamālā:

ruddammi bhava-samudde tulagga-laddhammi kaha vi manuyatte (adj.) (noun) (adj.) (noun)

'in this most dreadful ocean of existence where birth as a human being is obtained only by the rarest chance' (p. 2.1.12).

erisammi ya samaye 'and at such a time' (195.1)

(noun) (adj.)

diharammi samsare 'in this long circuit of mundane existence'.

(noun) (adj.)

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But this differentiation between nouns and adjectives is by no means an absolute rule, even in this text. The ending -mmi does occur with nouns, though rarely, and it seems to convey greater emphasis and urgency: gahio kumaro kanthammi 'the prince was seized by the neck' (137.20).

There is abundant evidence throughout narrative Jain literature of the other closely linked tendencies, the survival of the ending -e in the immediate environment of the verb and in fixed locutions, thus antie 'in the vicinity of' usually occurs before the verb and is very common, while antiammi is hardly, if ever, found. In fixed locutions such as place-names and times of day or of the year, the ending -e is used almost exclusively, e.g. paose 'in the evening', Mayanamahusave 'at the time of the great springfestival'. That this usage was basic to Middle Indo-Aryan prose is proved further by the Niya inscriptions, where -e occurs mainly in samvatsare, mase, divase used in dating formulas (Burrow 1937: 24).

E. CONCLUSION

A glance at the paradigms listed in Prākrit grammars may give the impression that there are a variety of different endings which could be used indiscriminately in Middle Indo-Aryan. The texts, however, show that many of these are regional and chronological variants possibly indicating scribal traditions, and some of them are of stylistic significance. The cases of optional usage emphasise the fact that the Jain texts reflects a living and evolving language, and have subtleties of expression that may often escape us.

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DISTINCTION AND CONFUSION: A STUDY OF NEUTER PLURAL ENDINGS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. Schwarzschild

I. Introductory note

From the time of Vararuci on, most scholars, with the exception of some Gujarat Jain writers, have tended to view the Prakrit dialects in terms of Sanskrit and the divergencies from regular Sanskrit derivation have dominated discussions. T. Burrow's studies on the language of the Kharoshti documents from Chinese Turkestan (1931) brought a new perspective to Middle Indo-Aryan, and showed how much Prakrit was of intrinsic interest in its grammatical structure. One of the most striking characteristics of Prakrit is an internal and not a Sanskrit-dominated feature, namely the bewildering profusion of declensional endings and the apparently haphazard manner in which they can be used. Thus in the case of the nominative-accusative plural of the common neuter nouns in -a the grammars state that $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{a}im$, $-\bar{a}i$ and $-\bar{a}ni$ are all used in Prakrit (Pischel 1900: 255). It is well known that some of these endings are dialectal variants as will be discussed below, but this does not account for the entire situation. Such a profusion of alternants, and free variation of the kind postulated by Prakrit grammars would be unthinkable in any natural language. It would seem obvious that syntactic and stylistic variation must be involved. An attempt has been made in a recent paper (Schwarzschild (1977)) to show this in connexion with the locative endings and a similar situation is discussed here in relation to the neuter plural endings.

II. Derivation and distribution of the neuter plural endings

There are two main problems:

1. What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending $-\bar{a}$?

2. What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending -āiṃ?

1. (a) The ending $-\bar{a}$

The neuter plural ending in $-\bar{a}$ occurs occasionally in the older Pāli texts, and in Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, though only rarely. It has been thought by Geiger (1916), 80 and by Pischel (1900), §367 to represent a survival of the old Vedic ending $-\bar{a}$ of the neuter plural.

The situation is, however, slightly more intricate than it may appear at first glance. $-\bar{a}$ is indeed the older etymological form of the neuter plural of nouns in -a, just as $-\bar{\imath}$ and $-\bar{a}$ are the older neuter plural endings of nouns in -i and -u respectively. The ending $-\bar{a}ni$ (just like $-\bar{\imath}ni$ and $-\bar{u}ni$) is an innovation based on the influence of the group of nouns that have a stem-final -n, such as karman 'action', plural $karm\bar{a}ni$. In the Rgveda (see Wackernagel (1930), 103) forms in $-\bar{a}$ outnumber those in $-\bar{a}ni$ by 3 to 2. The distribution is not arbitrary, there is stylistic and syntactic variation: the older ending in $-\bar{a}$ is favoured in formal, fixed locutions; it also survives most readily in adjectives and particularly in past participles—while $-\bar{a}ni$ occurs mainly in nouns (Renou (1952), 225). The two forms are frequently in juxtaposition as in the formula

vísvā bhúvanāni adj. noun

'all creatures', which recurs even in the Mahābhārata (Michelson (1904), 103) and in

trí pũrná mádhunā padáni adj. adj. noun

'the three footsteps filled with mead '(I.154.4)

sugá no vísvā supáthāni santu

adj. adj. noun

' may all paths be good and easy to cross for us ' (VII.63.6) må nah priyå bhójanāni prá moṣīḥ

adi. noun

'may you not take away from us our well-liked nourishments' (I.104.8).

A definite development can be seen within the Rgveda: in the later hymns the proportion of $-\bar{a}ni$ endings is on the increase and even adjectives are in isolated instances affected by this change:

úttarāṇi sádma
adj. noun
'higher abodes' (X.67.10)
haviṃṣi práyatāni barhíṣi
adj.
'the offerings laid out on the straw' (X.115.11).

But the ending $-\bar{a}ni$ only very gradually became common in adjectives. This delay may be attributed to two reasons:

- (i) $-\bar{a}ni$ originated from the nominal declension in the first place (from nouns in -a)
- (ii) within the unit of the noun-phrase, the noun is the dominating constituent. The noun, rather than the adjective therefore takes more readily the fuller and more distinctive ending -āni in the neuter plural.

The short form in -a was also favoured in Vedic when several nouns and particularly adjectives in the neuter plural were listed, and this was evidently for the same reason, the absence of need for distinctiveness. This trend was noticeable particularly when the longer ending $-\bar{a}ni$ already occurred once within the same noun-phrase.

It seems that there was still some survival of the Vedic situation in the earlier phases of Middle Indo-Aryan. The ending $-\bar{a}$ is found in the Aśokan inscriptions everywhere except at Girnar (see Bloch (1950), 59):

(J. R.E.II) osadhāni halāpitā ca lopāpitā ca noun adj. adj.

'medicinal herbs have been caused to be imported and planted'.

There are also instances of this usage in early Pāli texts (Weller (1915), 45) and in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel (1900), §367), mainly in adjectives and in enumerations where one might expect the short forms according to the Vedic tradition:

jhānassa cattāri lakkanā, cattāri ālambanā, vāyānā paripucchanā 'of that meditation there are four outward signs, ... four supports, ... words, and questions' (Thānanga 4.1).

But this is rare, and can be regarded as an archaising stylistic variant.

The situation as discussed above can be summarized in the following manner:

Vedic neuter plural $-\bar{a}$ (archaic style, adjectives and enumerations) early Pāli, Amg., J.M., Aśokan $-\bar{a}$ (as before) usage then discontinued, $-\bar{a}$ supplanted by the long form $-\bar{a}ni$.

1. (b) The late MIA neuter plural $-\bar{a}$

There is a totally different situation where neuter plurals in $-\bar{a}$ are found in later Pāli texts, in southern Indian inscriptions (Mehendale (1948), 241) and particularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. These forms are not associated with adjectives or enumerations, they occur readily in all kinds of nouns, sometimes with complete confusion of gender: sabbe te $r\bar{u}p\bar{a}$ 'all these appearances'. This different usage does not appear to have arisen from the Vedic tradition described above, and an explanation must be sought elsewhere. Such an explanation was already indicated by Hemacandra (Pischel (1877–80), I, 33) and was discussed further particularly by Edgerton (1953), 58: the use of $-\bar{a}$ for $-\bar{a}ni$ in the neuter plural shows the influence of the old nominative masculine ending $-\bar{a} > -\bar{a}h$.

The main argument in favour of Edgerton's theory is the early evidence of confusion between the neuter and masculine endings in the plural. Although the distinction between masculines and neuters was always weak (Renou (1961), 278), the confusion seems to have begun in the East and arose from the similarity of the neuter plural nominative, vocative and accusative ending $-\bar{a}ni$ and the masculine accusative plural ending $-\bar{a}n$. This confusion and the subsequent use of $-\bar{a}ni$ in the masculine has been discussed in detail by Lüders (1913), 988 ff., and more recently by Regamey (1954), 526, and by Bechert

(1958), 310.

The use of $-\bar{a}$ in the neuter plural, based on this confusion of genders, became more widespread in later Middle Indo-Aryan and was particularly common in the eastern Apabhramśa of the Dohākoṣas (Tagare (1948), 138). This is in agreement with the growing lack of distinction between genders which was especially pronounced in the east where all distinction between genders has disappeared in the modern languages (Bloch (1963), map 5). Gender distinction has also disappeared in the Niya inscriptions, and $-\bar{a}ni$ is only used in Sanskritizing formulae (Burrow (1937), 25). The situation can be summarized in the following table:



Middle Indo-Aryan (Eastern)
(Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, the eastern dialect
underlying Pāli, and Apabhraṃśa)

	Neuter pl.	Masc.
Nom.		$-ar{a}$
	$-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{a}ni$, $-\bar{a}\ddot{i}m$	
Acc.	nisiadana sin na bala	(-āni, traces in Pāli)
		-e (Western influence)

2. The ending -āim

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There has been some discussion of the origin of this ending. Gray (1935), 566 thought of it as coming from Vedic $-\bar{a}$ with the addition of -ini borrowed from nouns with a stem-final -in. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory, particularly in view of the existence of parallel forms in $-\bar{i}im$ and $-\bar{u}im$ for the -i and -u stems. There is no other evidence of any such composite ending. $-\bar{a}im$ is much more likely to be a derivative by metathesis and weakening from $-\bar{a}ni$ (and $-\bar{i}im$, $-\bar{u}im$ from $-\bar{i}ni$, $-\bar{u}ni$). This change was made possible by the well-known phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Middle Indo-Aryan (Turner (1927), 230). The isolated examples of a neuter plural ending -mim, e.g. $dhan\bar{a}mim$, quoted by Kramadīšvara in his grammar, are of interest in that they may well represent intermediate forms.

The distribution of $-\bar{a}im$ and $-\bar{a}ni$ is as follows:

$-\bar{a}ni$ only	$-\bar{a}im$ and $-\bar{a}ni$	only $-\bar{a}\ddot{i}\dot{m}$ (and minor variants)
Pāli	Ardhamāgadhī	Māhārāṣṭrī
Gāndhārī Dhammapada	Saurasenī	Apabhraṃśa
Inscriptional MIA	Māgadhī	
Jain Šaurasenī	Jain Māhārāstrī	

It is obvious that $-\bar{a}ni$ is the older ending, and $-\bar{a}im$ with its minor variants is more recent. This again involves a stylistic difference: $-\bar{a}ni$ belongs to a more elevated and formal style, and it is therefore not surprising that it is the only ending found in inscriptional Prakrits. It is equally obvious that $-\bar{a}ni$ survived longer in the west and that $-\bar{a}im$ like many other innovations began in the eastern dialects. But it is those dialects in which both $-\bar{a}ni$ and $-\bar{a}im$ are found which are most interesting in this respect: it is here in Ardhamāgadhī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī that the stylistic and syntactic differences between the two endings can be seen most clearly.

 $-\bar{a}ni$ is both the older and also the more emphatic ending: it is used in situations where 'phonetic weakening of terminational elements' is least likely to occur. Thus $-\bar{a}ni$ is the prevailing form before enclitic and emphatic particles of any kind; some examples of this were already listed by Pischel (1900), §367):

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ruppa-pāyāṇi vā, suvaṇṇa-pāyāṇi vā
encl. encl.
'silver or golden vessels' (Ovavāiyasuttam, 37)
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annāni vi jāïm loe dukkhāïm

' and those other misfortunes that are in this world ' ($Kuvalayam\bar{a}l\bar{a}, 135.24$).

The ending $\bar{a}ni$ is particularly common with anna < anya 'other' because a strong contrast is usually implied:

annāni ya mahā-kaviyara-kappiyāïm

'and those other works of great authors' (Kuvalayamālā, 174.23).

On the whole the stronger ending $-\bar{a}ni$ is preferred in nouns rather than in adjectives and pronouns, particularly when there are no enclitic particles involved:

jantāṇi teṇa viraiyāim pāveṇa noun adj. 'these devices have been set up by that evil-doer' (Paimacariyam, 6.226) vatth'ābharaṇāṇi rāya-santiyāim

'the garments and jewels belonging to the king' (Ausgewählte Erzählungen)

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eyāim pañca mūla-sippāni

demonstr.

pronoun

'these five basic skills' (Avaśyakacūrni).

Sometimes both an enclitic particle and the adjective-noun contrast are involved:

bhavanāni toranāni ya, attālaya-viviha-citta-tungāim

noun encl.

'dwellings and gates, high and bright with various upper stories' (Paümacariyam, 28.87).

Although poetic works in particular show a certain amount of liberty in the use of the two different endings of the neuter plural, the basic theme of emphatic $(-\bar{a}ni)$ versus less emphatic $(-\bar{a}im)$ prevails. This contrast is so strong that it should probably be reflected in translations:

tuţţāni ya mandalaggāïm

adj. encl. noun

'and their scimitars were completely shattered'.

In the Vasudevahindi the ending -āni prevails, but -āim is used occasionally in conversational style and in quotations, and clearly the use of the two endings is governed by finer nuances of style.

The distribution of the endings of the neuter plural thus shows us that there is still much to learn about Middle Indo-Aryan style and details of syntax: the most important texts from this point of view are the vivid prose-stories in Jain Māhārāstrī.

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^{1.} The main purpose of these indexes is to provide access to the discussions and citations of Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan "words" in the preceding articles. The entries are for the most part listed as they are found in the articles. The indexes possibly err on the side of being too inclusive but I have preferred to shirk the responsibility of deciding which words potential users would want information about and so I have excluded only the most extraneous words.

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